Intereſt Miſtaken:

OR, THE

HOLY CHEAT:

PROVING

From the undeniable Practiſes & Poſitions of the *Presbyterians*, that the Deſign of that Party is to enſlave both King and People under the Maſque of RELIGION.

By way of Obſervation upon a Treatiſe, INTITULED, *The Intereſt of* England *in the Matter of*

RELIGION, &c.

April 1661

By ROGER L'ESTRANGE.

The Third Impreſſion.

Aug. de Civ. Dei.

Nullo modo his artibus placatur Divina Majeſtas, quibus Humana Dignitas inquinatur.

LONDON,
Printed for *Henry Brome*, at the *Gun* in *Ivy-lane*. 1662.

To the Honorable

HOUSE of COMMONS

Assembled in

PARLIAMENT.

Most Honourable,

TO *beg your* Pardon *or* Protection, *were to suppose a* Fault, *or* Hazzard, *but in this Dedication finding neither, I shall waive that Formality: humbly submitting* what *I have to say; my* Reasons, *and my* Self, *to your* Authority, *and* Wisdom, *without more* Prologue *or* Apology.

There is a Faction which under the note of Presbyterian, *seems much concerned to stickle against* Bishops, *and* Church-rites, *on the behalf of* Tender Consciences. *Their Writings and Opinions, are with*

great Freedom, Craft, *&* Diligence, *diſpers'd throughout the Nation; to the great Scandal of the true Church; & the Encouragement of thoſe of the Revolt. But this is yet the leaſt part of the* Miſchief, *or in effect of their* Deſign: *Their Aym being to Tumultuate the people, and make a party againſt the civil Power. Indeed their Pamphlets wear the face of* Church-diſputes *and* Models; *but he that reads them through, and marks them narrowly, ſhall find the King's* Authority *the Queſtion.*

That the late War againſt the King was Lawful; *is a* Poſition *common to them all, and this they publickly maintain, as the main* Baſis *of the Cauſe. By which aſſertion, they caſt the* Blood *&* Guilt *upon His* Majeſty; *make his* Adherents Traitors; *place the* Supreme Authority *in the* Two Houſes; *ſubject the* Law *to an* Ordinance: *the* Government, *to a* Faction: *and animate the* Schiſmaticks *to ſerve His* Majeſty *in beeing as they did His* Fa-

ther.

ther. *This is the drift of their ſeditious* Libels, *and of their* Projects *too; if any judgment may be made upon their ſtrict conformity of Argument, and Method, to thoſe that firſt embroil'd us.*

How far this matter may require your Care, *becomes not me to meddle: I thought it might be worth your Honors* Knowledge, *and led by an opinion of my* Duty, *this ſtate of the Affair (ſuch as it is) I do moſt humbly lay before you.*

His Majeſty *had no ſooner ſet Foot upon* Engliſh *ground, but ſwarms of peſtilent papers were in a Readineſs to entertain him. Some of the ſharpeſt of them, I delivered to ſeveral Members of that Seſſion, with the Stationers name for whom they were printed,* (Smith, *at the* Bible *in* Cornhil, Crofton's *Agent*) *but all too little to ſuppreſs them. One paſſage is this that Follows; ſpeaking of the limited power of Kings——*

Douglas his Coronation Sermon, Page 10.

This may ſerve to juſtifie the proceedings of this Kingdom againſt the late King, who in a Hoſtile way ſet himſelfe to overthrow Religion, Parliaments, Laws, and Liberties.

Hand in hand with this Pamphlet, *came forth* Smectymnuus; Reviv'd, *and* recommended *by* Mr. Manton: *and ſince that time, ſome Hundreds more of the ſame ſtamp, whoſe common buſineſs 'tis, by Affronting of the* Law, *and Flattering of the* Rabble, *to caſt all back into Confuſion. Among the many other* Actors *of Religion, I find not any man plays his* part *better than the Author of That Treatiſe which hath extorted This: who indeed, abuſes the* People *in very good terms.*

Some haſty Obſervations *I have paſs'd upon him, in favour of the eaſie, and deceivable Vulgar; which* Frailties *I ſubmit to*

you

your Honours Charity; *but the main* Equitie *of the Cause, I hope, will stand the test of your severest* Justice: *for doubtlesse much is due to the late King's* Honour, *as well as to his* Blood.

And somewhat (with submission to your Wisdoms) may be allow'd to his Party: *at least sufficient to protect them from Popular contempt, and the Infamous lash of every daring Libell.*

I dare not trust my self further with my own thoughts, and yet I take them to be such as very well consist with the Duty of

Your Honors most Obedient

and humble Servant,

Roger L'estrange.

TO THE GOOD PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

THE *Common good* is the Common pretence of all ſeditious Combinations: and it is no new thing for a *crafty Faction* to impoſe upon a ſimple *Multitude*, empty *Appearances* for *Truths* and *Reaſon*. But our Reformers ſcorn to ſtop at this dull, general method of Confuſion. The Law of *God* muſt be ſubjected as well as that of the *Nation*; we muſt call *Treaſon*, *Loyalty*; and commit *Murther* as a point of *Conſcience*.

No leſs then this is hinted in the Presby-

Presbyterians Justification of the *Scotish League* and *Quarrel*: nor have they any other aim, than by procuring an Allowance of *That War*, to make way to *Another*. To this end, they disperse their poysonous Infusions into all Quarters of the Kingdom, under those very Forms of *Piety*, and *Tenderness*, by which they first betrayed us: and by those very means do they now prosecute afresh their first Intentions. That is, they labour to promote the Cause, by scandalous and rank *Invectives*, against the *Church*, and stirring up of *Tumults* to *Reform* it: by a loud Pharisaical *Ostentation* of their own *Holiness*, and a sour churlish Censure of all *Others*: by sharp and sawcy *Aspersions* upon the *Royal Party*, and by Reflections yet more bitter and Audacious, upon his Sacred *Majesty*, and his *Murther'd Father*.

To see these Libels pass with Free-

dom,

dom, and Impunitie, as if they were *Authorized*: and to obſerve what foul Miſtakes are grounded upon theſe groſs Allowances, to the Kings Diſadvantage, and all without Controll or Confutation. *This*, and no other Reaſon (ſo God bleſs me) that is; of private *Paſſion*, or *Animoſity* of temper) hath drawn this honeſt Folly from me. I reckon it my *Duty* to my *Prince* and *Country*, to my own *Honour*, and to the *Oath* I have taken, *Where ever I find a publique Enemy to diſcover him*: And being thus Commiſſioned, both by *Authority* and *Conſcience*, I proceed.

The *Benefit* of this Treatiſe is directed to the *People*, and the *Deſign* of it is onely to lay open the *Presbyterian Jugle*, that in one Age they be not twice deluded by the ſame Impoſture. My *Arguments* are Drawn from their owne *Practiſes* and *Poſitions*: from *Preſidents* of Former times; (*Cartwright*) and his

his *Diſciples*) from what hath paſſed within our own *Experience*; from what theſe very men have *done*, and from the very Logick of their own *Writings*, what they profeſs, they do *intend* to do.

As the *Deluſion* is apparent, ſo is the *Juſtice* of *Diſcourſing* it.

Can it be thought, that by the *Act* of *Pardon*, his Majeſty ever meant to ſubject all the *Sober* and *Legal Intereſts* of the *Nation*, to be worried by a *Faction*? Who of the *Royal Party* charges them? Or if they did, what has the *Law* done to offend them? Or ſay the *Law* be ſharp againſt them, his *Majeſty's unparallel'd Mercy* has by his Royal Grace taken off the edge of it; hazarding himſelf to preſerve theſe unthankful People, which are now practiſing upon that Authority, that ſaved them.

And I beſeech you what is the goodly Subject of the Controverſie? The

Presbyterian

Presbyterian Discipline forsooth; and *Ceremonies* of *Mystical* and *Humane Institution.*

Touching the *Former*; St. *Augustine* tells us, that *Aërius* turn'd *Heretick* upon the miss of a *Bishoprick*, (the first assertor of *Church-Parity*) I am affraid some of our Reverend Clergy are sick of his disease; for their design is not so much to convert *Bishops* into *Presbyters*, as to make every *Presbyter* a *Bishop*.

And then for *Ceremonies*; they tear and chafe the *Common people* into a pettish scruple, that would be well and quiet enough without them. They make their *Consciences* like *skittish Jades*, that boggle at their own shadows, and start into a *precipice* to avoid a *Feather*.

They tell us too of *Number*, and press their Importunities in the Name *of many thousands of the good people of the Nation*; so did the *King*'s insolent *Judges*, and with as much truth the *one* as the *other*.

Let

Let it be further noted, that in this caſe, the *Factious* and *Schiſmatical* clergy are but (with reverence) *Bawds* to a *State-faction.* A *Tumult* for *Religion*, is within one ſtep of *Rebellion.*

Nor do they only ſhape their looſe *Opinions* to their lewd purpoſes, but by all ſecret *arts* and *practiſes*, they form their Parties. But here I am confin'd.----

All I deſign is only a fit Caution to all *Well-meaning Subjects*, not to believe their *Eares* againſt their *Reaſon.* If they can adde one Syllable, of *Weight*, to what they have already *Promiſed*, and *Broken*, I'le give my ſelf up to the Partie.

This is not yet to caſt a general Blot upon all perſons of that Judgement, nor to excite any unquiet thoughts toward the reſt: but onely to preſent a *Modeſt*, and an *Uſefull* warning to the people.

So far am I from a deſire to move a-

ny

ny diſtemper, that I do poſitively affirm, ſhould the King (which is impoſſible) pick out of all his Subjects thoſe very perſons, who upon twenty years experience, have proved through all extremities how much they love his *Cauſe* and *Perſon*, above their *Lives* and *Fortunes*: ſhould, I ſay, theſe be pick'd out by his Majeſtie, and marqu'd for Slaves to thoſe that with an equal *Zeal* and *Steadyneſſe* have oppoſed him; Our Duty were the ſame yet.

Severitie, *and* Kindneſs *may move us as* Men, *but not as* Subjects: Obedience *to* Kings *being a* Divine precept, *and not ſubjected to thoſe accidents which work upon our Paſſions.*

Nor ſhall this ſenſe of my owne Clearneſs betray me yet to a ſurprize; for I fore-ſee a thouſand miſchiefs may befall me, and all which either private Malice, or open and bold Prejudice can caſt upon me; I am provided for.

for. To thoſe of the *Presbyterian* perſwaſion that truly love the King, I bear a more than Ordinary Reſpect, becauſe it is a more than Ordinary Virtue, and for the reſt, I care not.

I am not now to learn the temper of the *Rigid Presbyterians.* They did me once the Honour to *Condemn* me, almoſt at *Mid-night*, by a *pack'd Committee*, and without a *Hearing*; well-nigh four years they kept me in *New-gate* upon that Account. This was a pretty taſt of their good Nature. I do not now Complain, but I Confeſs, it would have pleas'd me as well if the *Biſhop* that Chriſtens ſtill by the *Directory*, had choſen ſome other *Chancellour*, inſtead of my *Judge Advocate:* —— But I deſire onely to make a ſober uſe of theſe Miſtakes; The King knows nothing of them.

God *preſerve* his *Majeſty*, *convert* his *Enemies*, and *comfort* his *Friends*. *Farewell.*

THE

THE

HOLY CHEAT:

PROVING,

From the undeniable Practices and Positions of the *Presbyterians*, that the design of that Party is to enslave both King and People, under the Masque of

RELIGION, &c.

IF the Authour of the *Interest of England*, &c. had meant fairly to the Question, he would as well have told us the *Good* of *Bishops*, and the *Ill* of *Presbyters*, as he hath done the contrary, and never have concluded For, or Against Either, from the Best Actions of the One, and the Worst of the Other. At least, a man would think this partiality of Method, might content him without the further service

of those little Arts he uses, to aid, and recommend his Undertaking.

The Present state of things, he represents quite other then it is: and raises thence a Political expedience of doing This, or That,—— of Linking Interests,——never considering, that he Himself Creates that Interest, and gives Affairs the Face of that expedience. *Page the* 16. he laies his ground-work, In these following words.

J. C. *Among the various dis-agreeing Parties within this Kingdom, which seem to render it an indigested Mass of People; two main ones appear above the rest, of so large an interest, that if by any means they might become no more twain, but one; they would take in, and carry along the whole stream and strength of the Nation. And these two are the* Episcopal *and* Presbyterian *Parties, each of them highly laying claim to the Protestant Religion. And undoubtedly whilst these two remain divided, the Kingdom of* England, *and the Protestant Religion is divided against it self. This dis-union is removed, either by the Abolition of one Party, or by the Coalition of both into one. The former, if supposed possible, cannot be accomplished, but by violent & perillous ways and means. The latter is brought to pass by Accommodation, or mutual yielding. Moreover, there is a third way imaginable, Toleration indulged to the weaker side. In which of these ways lies the true Interest of the King and Kingdom, is the great Case of the time, and the Subject of this Discourse,*

Diſcourſe, which preſumes not to inform his Majeſty, but in ſubordination unto his declared Moderation and Condeſcention, endeavours, by ſhewing things as they are, to convince and perſwade Intereſſed perſons, that the Pacification begun for this Interim *may be entire and perfect, and fully ſetled for perpetual unity.*

Let it be here obſerved, *Firſt, what* the *Difference* is; *Next*, betwixt *whom*; In the *Third* place, the *Danger* of it; And *Laſtly*, the *Expedient* to remove it. *Obſervation.*

It ſeems, the *Epiſcopal*, and *Presbyterian* Parties, United in *Religion*, cannot Agree yet about *Diſcipline*: and *while Theſe Two remain Divided*, the Publick is in Danger. From hence reſults the *Intereſt* of *Mutual Yielding*—— (his *Coalition of both Parties into One*) Upon which Hinge moves the whole frame of his Deſign; and in two Pages, he gives the Presbyter poſſeſſion of his Claim, Deciding with exceeding eaſe, *the Caſe of King and Kingdom.*

Opinion is a great Miſtreſs: for that which He ſo Magiſterially Lays down and Challenges, appears to me miſ-ſtated, and worſe Managed. I muſt confeſs, his Reduction of all other *Intereſts* under *Epiſcopal* and *Presbyterian*, is, in ſome ſenſe, no ill *Dichotomy*, that is, intended of the two main Parties, whereof, the One's againſt the Law, the Other for it: But why the ſingle Presbyterian ſhould be Eſteemed the Ballance of the Nation, I cannot Comprehend. If they are ſo, they

ſhould do well to caſt their Cauſe upon a Popular Vote, and try the Iſſue by the Poll.

For Quiet ſake, no matter, *Many* or *Few*, there may be *Equity* where there wants *Number*. We'l rather ſee in point of Right what 'tis they inſiſt upon: *Which, if exemption from Epiſcopal Authority, in things Indifferent, and of Humane Inſtitution.* We muſt plead *judgment of Diſcretion* too, as well as They: A Freedom, and Capacity to diſtinguiſh betwixt a *Scandal Given* and *Taken*; betwixt a Diſ-conformity proceeding from Conſcience, and from Paſſion; Where the Diſſent proceeds from Conſcience, a *Toleration* clears That Scruple: but our good peoples Liberty conſiſts in Burthening Others, as well as Freeing Themſelves, and that's *Intolerable.*

How many ſtrange Indecencies are here, one upon the neck of another! Firſt, here's the *Minor* part impoſing upon the *Major*: Secondly, a *Novel*, and *Vulgar Imagination*, bearing down an *Apoſtolical Inſtitution*: Thirdly, a *Private Opinion*, conteſting with a *Solemn*, and *Publike Sanction*: and Finally, the Subject of all this Earneſtneſſe, in their own phraſe, is but a very *Accommodable difference.* From what I have ſaid, I am perſwaded that *Severity* to the *Pertinacious Presbyter*, is the true intereſt of this Nation, allowing yet *Indulgence* to the *Conſcientious.*

Well, but our Authour tells us, that *Abolition if poſſible, is perilous*, and *Toleration* only an *Imaginary* Remedy. Is not this to intimate that the Party makes leſs Conſcience of a Tumult,

Tumult, than of a Ceremony: and to argue the neceſſity of Complying, from the danger of Refuſing? What would theſe people do if they had Power, that are ſo Bold without it! And yet our Politician makes it the Kings Intereſt to Cloſe with them. He means perchance, *According to the Covenant*: The *Coalition*, There, of all Schiſms, and Hereſies into One Intereſt, was of great Reaſon, and Important Service to the Commune work: but we are now adviſing how to *Settle* not to *Diſjoynt* a Government, and to Incorporate Diſ-agreements, were to begin upon a Principle of Confuſion. As the Caſe ſtands with us, in my weak Judgement, *Perſons* ſhould rather be Indulg'd, than *Parties*. My Reaſon is this, Some *Individuals* of that Perſwaſion, have done His Majeſty ſome Service, but (to the beſt of my Remembrance) the *Entire Party*, never any.

Yet one Reflexion more. Allow theſe People all their Askings, in what concerns their *Diſcipline*, will they reſt Quiet There, without a further Hankering after more? (the *Legiſlative Power* perhaps; the *Militia*; —— or ſome ſuch Trifle) I am the more ſuſpitious, becauſe I do not well remember, where ever That Party was ſatisfied with leſs than All. Nor need I look far back for Inſtances to juſtifie my Fears; But having in ſome meaſure hitherto Diſcovered his Foundation, we'l forward now, and ſee what work he makes upon this Sandy Bottom, taking his Title-page in my way, for, to my thinking, he

ſtumbles at the Threſhold. —— It runs thus.

The *Intereſt* of *England* In the Matter of RELIGION, Unfolded in the Solution of theſe three QUESTIONS.

I. Qu. *VVhether the* Presbyterian *Party ſhould in Juſtice or Reaſon of State be Rejected and Depreſſed, or Protected and Encouraged.*

II. Qu. *VVhether the* Presbyterian *Party may be Protected and Encouraged, and the* Epiſcopal *not Deſerted nor Diſobliged.*

III. Qu. *Whether the Upholding of both Parties by a juſt and equal Accommodation, be not in it ſelf more deſirable and more agreeable to the State of* England, *Then the abſolute Exalting of the one Party, and the total Subverſion of the other.*

Written by *J. C.*

Obſervation. I would fain know what is meant by, *The Matter of Religion*, as it ſtands here related to *Civil*

Civil Intereſt? Doctrine it cannot be, for That were to adviſe a yielding upon a Principle of Policy, in Oppoſition to a Rule of Conſcience: ſubjecting *Intereſt of Religion*, which is *Eternal Happineſs*, to *Reaſon of State*, which regards but *Temporal Convenience*. If it be *Diſcipline*, What's that to the *Intereſt of England*? Our Settlement depends upon a due Obedience to the Eſtabliſh'd Law; not the Encouraging of froward Humors, by an Audacious and Miſ-govern'd Zeal, under pretext of *Conſcience* to Affront it. Let Authority Reform, and Private Perſons either Obey, or Suffer; we are to Anſwer for our *own* faults, not thoſe of the *Government*. And in fine, *If the Hill will not come to* Mahomet, *let* Mahomet *go to the Hill.*

After a pleaſant *Breviate* of the Story of our late Troubles, handſomely Penn'd indeed) in his tenth Page he takes his Biaſs.

At length (ſays he) *a full Tide of Concurring Accidents carries him* (the Duke of *Albemarle*, then General) *to a cloſure with the ſober part of the Parliamentary Party, who from firſt to laſt intended onely a Reformation, and due Regulation of things in Church and State, but abhorred the thought of deſtroying the King, or changing the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom.* Page 10.

I thought *the Act of* **Pardon** *and* **Oblivion** had quieted all Animoſities, and ſilenc'd all Diſcourſes of this Quality; but 'tis, it ſeems, *Obſervations.*

The Interest of England *in the matter of Religion*, to keep the Quarrel waking; and by Asserting the proceedings of the two Houses in the late War, to engage this King within the danger of his Fathers President. To be as free with the Authour, as he is with his Majesty, I'le put his meaning in a little plainer English.

Beside the Grand Division of the Nation into a *Royal* and a *Popular* Party; that Party which he here calls *Parliamentary*, is again *Split*; and under this Subdivision are Comprised, those which did Actually destroy the King; and those which by good Fortune, did it not. (*Presbyterians*, and *Independents*.) The *Sober part*, (meaning the *Presbyterian*) He justifies *from first to last*, even to their very *Intentions*. (I must tread warily, for I am here upon a narrow and a slippery path.)

Not to Dispute the Gentlemans *Intuitive Knowledge*; we'l rather modestly believe that They mistook their way, then He, their meaning: for certainly, the *Murther* of the King, was not the onely Unlawful violence Acted upon that Sacred Person, and he that stops there, does as much as nothing. I would not touch upon this Subject, were I not bound by Oath, and Duty, to discharge my Soul, in what concerns the Honor, and the Safety of my Prince.

Can *the first Cause asserted by both Houses*, in opposition to his late Majesty, be *justifi'd*, and not the King *condemn'd*? And is not the *Honor* and *Safety* of his Majesty that now is,

is, concern'd in these *Indignities* upon his Murther'd Father? What was Then lawful, is so still: and he that but implicitly charges the Last King, strikes at This. The Text will bear no other sense without a Torture. But I shall by-and-by, compare him with himself. In the mean while we may explain one Presbyterian by another. *Douglas*, in 1651. preach'd the Kings *Coronation-Sermon*. Which since his Majesties Return, is over and over again Re-printed.

A King (says he) *abusing his Power, to the overthrow of Religion, Laws, and Liberties, which are the very fundamentals of this Contract and Covenant, may be controlled and opposed; and if he set himself to overthrow all these by Arms, then they who have power, as the Estates of a Land, may and ought to resist by Arms; Because he doth, by that opposition, break the very Bonds, and overthroweth all the Essentials of this Contract and Covenant. This may serve to Justifie the proceedings of this Kingdom against the late King, who in an hostile way set himself to overthrow Religion, Parliaments, Laws and Liberties.* Douglas. ☜

I think this needs no Comment,——About the same time, *Smectymnuus was revived* by Mr. *Manton*, (a most auspicious welcome doubtless to his Majesty) wherein five Champions of the Cause take up the Cudgels against one Bishop, on the behalf of scandalous Pamphlets, and Tumultuary Petitions against Episcopacy. This is the naked Truth, what ever

ever the Jolly Priest may tell the *Reader*, of the * *Faction against which they dealt. Five Orthodox Divines*, he says, were the Authors. *Four* of the *Five* I shall not mention, the *Fifth* was *Marshal*, of whose *Divinity*, a Taste; that by the sweet Agreement, we may the better judge of Mr. *Manton's*. In a *Letter printed* 1643. arguing for the Authority of the two Houses, *page* 14. Thus.

* *Epistle to the Reader.*

Marshall. *Let every soul in* England *be subject to King and Parliament, for they are the higher Powers ordained unto you of God; whosoever therefore resisteth King and Parliament, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation.*

The man was no Conjurer, yet he had wit enough, when *Presbytery* went down, to Court the rising Interest; and *though the Common-prayer was an Abomination*, to marry his Daughter by it, for fear of After-claps. But I suppose 'twas huddl'd up, as 'tis in Mr. *Manton's* Church, that no man might be able to make Oath 'twas not the *Directory*. If the Case had been concerning * *the Allowance of Christian Burial to a Gentleman that was Quartered for his Loyalty. Or to determine in the great Point of the late Kings Death, (upon an Anniversary Fast) whether or no 'twas Murther:* Truly considering *the potent Arguments brought on both sides*, 'tis possible that Mr. *Marshal* would have contented himself (as well as his Neighbours) barely to put the Case, and leave the point at last undecided to his Auditory.

Not

Not to ſpend time, and paper needleſly, The whole ſtream of the *Diſciplinarians* runs this way: onely perhaps more or leſs Bold, and Open, according to the preſent ſtrength, or weakneſs of the Faction.

But to return: Can any thing be more gentle, then **A Reformation, and due Regulation of things in Church and State?** *(words ſmoother than Oyle, yet are they very Swords.)*

Firſt, To *Reform*, and *Regulate*, belongs to the Supreme Magiſtrate; if they intended *That*, they were to blame. Now to take it in a Qualifi'd and ſofter ſenſe; 'twas a **Due Regulation** they intended. To put this General notion in more Intelligible terms; upon this point depends no leſs then all that's dear to every honeſt man. The *Dignity of the King*, the *Liberty of the Subject*, the *Freedome of Parliaments*, and the *Honor of the Nation*. God knows my thoughts, I do not envy any man, either the Benefit of his Majeſty's *Mercy*, or the Bleſſing of his *Favour*, that hath the Grace at laſt not to Abuſe it. I look upon his Royal Act of Pardon with Reverence; and upon every Soul within that pale as in a Sanctuary. But yet I do not underſtand a *Pardon* for one Rebellion, to be a *Diſpenſation* for another; nor how the Argument lies from Fact to Right. Under theſe two words, **Due Regulation**; Thus much is comprehended, (waiving leſs Differences and Greater.)

Presbyterian Regulation.

1. *The transferring of the Power of chuſing Great Officers, and Miniſters of State, from the King to the Two Houſes.*

2. *All matters of State in the Interval of Parliaments muſt be Debated, and Concluded by a Counſel ſo choſen, and in number not above twenty five, nor under fifteen; and no Publick Act eſteemed of any Validity, as proceeding from the Royal Authority, unleſs it be done by the Advice and Conſent of the Major part of that Counſel; Atteſted under their Hands. And Theſe too ſwern to the ſenſe of Both Houſes.*

3. *The Lords and Commons muſt be intruſted with the Militia.*

4. *His Majeſty may appoint, but the Two Houſes, or the Counſel (in ſuch manner as aforeſaid) muſt Approve of All Governors of Forts, and Caſtles.*

Laſtly, *No Peers hereafter made, muſt Sit, or Vote in Parliament, unleſs Admitted thereunto by the Conſent of Both Houſes.*

Exact Collections, pag. 310.

Upon theſe Terms; *his Majeſty ſhall be ſupported, in Honor, and plenty; by his moſt Humble and Faithful Subjects, who have in their Thoughts and Deſires nothing more precious, (next to the Honor and immediate Service of God)*

God) thun their juſt, and faithful performance of their Duty to the King, and Kingdom.

This is the **Due Regulation** *they Intended*: (for ſure they *Meant* what they *Propoſed*, to our Late Soveraign. I ſpeak not this, of *Perſons*, but of the Groſs of the Party; nor to reproach That neither, but to remove a *Scandal* from the Aſhes of that Bleſſed *Martyr*, and to direct a *Reverence* towards his Succeſſor. What provocation have theſe reſtleſs People, now to revive This Queſtion: but an unruly Impotency of Paſſion againſt the Government? This is their way. In *Generals*, they juſtifie from firſt to laſt, the Presbyterians Cauſe. The multitude, they look into *Particulars*: and from thoſe Injuries which the late King ſuffered, draw Inferences Diſ-honourable, and Dangerous to this.

In the next Periode, me-thinks he falls upon a *Non-ſequitur*.

The Re-admiſſion of the Secluded Members, (he ſays) *did neceſſarily draw after it, the Reſtoring of King, Lords, and Commons, according to the antient Conſtitution.* Page 10.

Not *Neceſſarily* (under favour) *according to the antient Conſtitution*: (I will not ſay not probably: but) there were *two ſhrewd Blocks caſt in the way*. The Firſt, in the *Militia*; where no Commiſſionated Officer was to Act, that ſhould not firſt acknowledge in theſe words, *viz.* *Obſervation.*

I do Acknowledge and Declare, that the Warre undertaken by both Houses of Parliament in their defence against the Forces raised in the Name of the late King, was Just and Lawful; and that Magistracy and Ministery, are the Ordinances of God.

The Second, was in the Exclusion of the Royal Party from the next Choice, as followeth.

Resolved, that all and every Person who have advised, or voluntarily aided, abetted, or assisted, in any War against the Parliament (since the first day of January 1641. *) his or their Sons, unless he or they have since Manifested their good affections to this Parliament, shall be uncapable to be elected to serve as members of the next Parliament.*

Now how a Choice thus limited in the House, and Principled in the Field, should *Necessarily* set us right, does not to me appear? Perhaps it was the most the Time would bear: but God forbid, *That Declaration charging the Guilt, and Blood of the late War upon the King*, should stand upon Record to future Generations. Who ever affirms That War was lawful, does beyond Question meditate Another; not to say more than needs, It blasts the Memory of the late King, and upon the King that now is, it reflects many Mischiefs, subjecting both his Dignity and Person, to his Fathers hazards. It administers Argument for a New War; and shakes the very Foundation of Royalty. Grant That, the Act of Oblivion is on the wrong side; If the King

King was in Fault, the Presbyterians muſt Grant the Pardon. From the clear reaſon of the matter in it ſelf, and from the obvious Conſequences; beſide that Juſtice which both King and People owe to the Aſhes of a Father and a Soveraign, It ſeems to me of high Concern, to Counter-State that Declaration, and *place the Militia of this Nation now in ſuch hands, as will acknowledge the late Kings Quarrel was Defenſive.* I am the bolder in this Particular, becauſe I find the Faction preſſing beyond both Modeſty and Reaſon, upon this Bottom.

Where Majeſty it ſelf is Affronted, it were a ſecond Injury to allow the Servant better Quarter than the Maſter. But they are very Exact and Careful in this Particular: as will appear in what follows.

After a dreadful Earthquake, ſhaking all the Powers of the Kingdom, and over-turning the very Foundations, and after a new frame of things erected ſtanding for divers years, and ſeemingly ſtated for perpetuity, the Regal Family and Government is raiſed up again, not by the power or policy of that Party, who fought under the Banner of his late Majeſty in the Wars, between him and both Houſes of Parliament; But by the reſtleſs deſire of the Nation, and the vigorous actings of the City of London, *with the concurrence of the Secluded Members of the long Parliament, in conjunction with that Renowned Perſon, who then held the power of the Sword.* Page 12.

Let

Observation. Let it be noted here, that (by His Confession) *the War was between the King and Both Houses of Parliament.* Now *to that Party who fought under the Banner of His late Majesty.* (Whom he might have spared for the General's sake.)

Truly, considering what havock hath been made of them, by *Slaughters*, *Extrajudicial Sentences*, *Plunders*, *Sequestrations*, *Imprisonments*, *Banishments*; *shipping them away into Plantations*, *&c.* —— And this for twenty years continuance. 'Tis no great wonder to find some Abatement of their Power. But to Affirm that they contributed nothing to his Majesties Restauration, is very unkind, and something Rash. The *Nation* did, (he says) the *City of London*, and the *Secluded Members* of the *Long Parliament*; but not *That Party.* (A pleasant and phantastical Dis-junction.) This way of barely Affirming, and Denying; Crying One Party Up, and the Other Down, and proving nothing, is neither Mannerly, nor Prudent. How comes this man of *Metaphysical Inspection*, that reads the very *Thoughts* of the *Presbyterians*, and seems so well enformed in all the *Actings* of the *Royal Party*: How comes he by this wondrous Insight and Intelligence? Does he not find that all he says is nothing, unless he can *see things Invisible*, *and prove Negatives?* Is This the Work of the Spirit of *Pacification*? or will he tell us, in the holy Dialect, that *'tis the Enmity betwixt the Seed of the Woman, and the Seed of the Serpent?*

So far were *We*, (for I write my self of that Party)

Party) from this Unfriendly and Unchristian Temper of Dis-uniting, that we Declared unanimously against it, binding our selves by all that's Sacred, to an Eternal Union with all Parties, in order to the Restauration of His Majesty, all Differences apart; of what Degree or Quality soever. In This, we had an eye to the King's Interest, and to the Nation's; for it Referred both to his Majesty's Return, and to a Lasting Peace; the Former being Facilitated by that Conjunction of *Interests*; and the Latter, provided for by a Conciliation of *Affections*, to be wrought by suppressing all *Motions* toward Revenge in the one Party, and the *Fears* of it in the *Other*. It had been good Manners to have met us half way; but truly high Discretion, as well as Common Equity, to Close with us, and entertain the Offer. But far from this, we do not onely get not one *Good* word, but many a *Bad* one: *Such, as those People that will never Leave the King, are to expect from such as do not love Him.* Our Adversary talks much of the *Gospel*. Is it a *Gospel-precept*, *to render Evil for Good?* What I have shewed already, that the Kings Party did, amounts to somewhat more than nothing. We'l see a little further, allowing yet to all that Acted in that work their share of Glory.

The Duke of *Albemarle* was the Leading Card, *then in the head of an Army, better dispos'd to his Command, than Design*: and to him the Honest part of the City and Nation were no ill Seconds. But till he had tasted and

tri'd them, he did well to walk warily: and rather take the middle and ſafer way, of Gratifying all Intereſts then on foot, than the more Poſitive, and Hazardous, of Diſobliging any Two Parties, in favour of the Third.

For there were then Three ſeveral Intereſts in Play: the *King*'s, the *Presbyterian*'s, and the *Phanatique*'s: The Royal party preſs'd for a Free Choice and Convention, without *Prelimitation*. The *Presbyterians* urg'd a Readmiſſion of the *Secluded Members*. The *Phanatiques*, they were for filling up the Houſe, according to ſuch *Qualifications* as the *Rump* ſhould reſolve upon. The courſe the General ſteer'd was this; —— the *Rump* Continued; the *Secluded Members* Returned; and the *Royalliſts* were ſatisfied with the Aſſurance of a new Choice ſoon after. His Excellence acting in this Affair rather as a Conciliator, than a Party, and in order to a Settlement, giving things the beſt Conſiſtency they would then bear.

But had the antient Stock of Royalliſts no hand at all in this procurement? It never came to blows, ſo that the matter Reſts upon the Effects of Policy and Counſel; whereof our undertaker cannot give any abſolute account; nor ſhall we in our juſt Apology, exalt our ſelves, and cry, *We brought the King in.* That's *Presbyterian Language.* We did not drive him out, we'l ſay; and that we joyn'd with many Thouſands, as honeſt as our ſelves, in Duty to Reſtore him. Whether there was place for Action, and to do the King a Service

that

that way, we never Articled for Offices or Rewards, but without further care of Intereſt, perſu'd our Duties. In fine the Loyal part of the Nation was animated by the ſame Soul, joyn'd Stocks, and Counſels: and many Thouſands of brave Fellows that never ſaw the King, were forward and Ambitious to Die for him. I could ſay what was undertaken by the old Royal Party, particularly, in *Hewſon's* ſcuffle, (and indeed where not) but that it caſts a Slur upon ſome of his Majeſty's new Friends. This however, thoſe Lads of the City, that would have done the work without more ado, had they not been Muzzl'd by ſome of their Mungrel Magiſtrates, that Din'd with the *Mayor*, and Supp'd with the *Committee of Safety:* thoſe honeſt people will, if need be, bear witneſs for us, and in like manner the whole Nation, that by Action, Counſel, Writing, we did all that was poſſible in the Buſineſs. Neither does what I have delivered in defence of the Royal Party, diſagree with his Majeſty's teſtimony of the Other, in His Gracious Speech to the Houſe of Peers, for haſtning *the Act of Indempnity:* which yet our Author cites againſt us.

His Majeſty's Speech for haſtning the Act of Indempnity.

My Lords, If you do not joyn with Me in extinguiſhing thoſe fears, which keep mens hearts awake, and apprehenſive of ſafety and ſecurity, you keep Me from performing My promiſe, which if I had not made, I am perſwaded that neither I nor you had been now here: I pray you let Us not deceive thoſe who brought Us,

or permitted Us to come together.

Observation. The King does not There say so much who *Brought* Him in, as who *Permitted* His Restoring; implying, that He was fain to *Condition* for that too; but withal, a great Earnestness to perform His promise.

Had but this Gentleman considered as well what the King said at the *Passing* of the *Indempnity*, as at the *Hastning* of it, this wrangle would have been saved; I'l do him the service to mind him of it.

His Majesty's Speech at the passing the Act of Indempnity. *I do very willingly pardon all that is pardoned by this Act of Indempnity, to that time which is mentioned in the Bill. Nay, I will tell you, That from that time to this day, I will not use great severity, except in such Cases where the Malice is Notorious, and the Publick Peace exceedingly concern'd. But for the time to come, the same Discretion and Conscience which disposed me to the Clemency I have expres's'd, which is most agreeable to My Nature, will oblige me to all Rigour and Severity, how contrary soever it be to My Nature, towards those who shall not now Acquiesce, but continue to manifest their Scaition and Dislike of the Government, either in Actions or Words. And I must conjure you all (My Lords and Gentlemen)*

to

to concur with me in this juſt and neceſſary Severity; and that you will in your ſeveral Stations, be ſo jealous of the publick Peace, and of My particular Honor, that you will cauſe Exemplary Juſtice to be done upon thoſe who are guilty of Seditious Speeches *or* Writings, *as well as thoſe who break out into Seditious* Actions: *And that you will believe thoſe who delight in reproaching and traducing My Perſon, not to be well affected to you and the publick Peace. Never King valued himſelf more upon the Affections of his People, than I do; Nor do I know a better way to make My Self ſure of your Affections, than by being Juſt and Kind to you all; and whilſt I am ſo, I pray let the World ſee, that I am poſſeſſed of your Affections.*

Thus far the Ground-work, now the goodly Structure.

His Majeſty thus brought back to a willing and free-ſpirited people, by their own Act, beholds his undoubted Intereſt ſet forth to his hand, and made plain before him, which is no other, than a well-tempered and compoſed ſtate of Affairs, both Religious and Civil, in all his Dominions, by the aboliſhing of former Differences, and the reconciling of all reconcileable Page 19.

cileable Parties; and especially of those grand Parties, which (if made one) do upon the matter carry the whole Nation. And this His Majesties Wisdom hath already observed, in that excellent Proclamation against vitious, debauched, and prophane persons, in these words, [That the Reconciliation and Union of hearts and affections, can onely, with God's blessing, make Us rejoyce in each other, and keep Our Enemies from rejoycing.] *And this is the earnest expectation and hope of the Religious, and well affected to the publick Tranquillity, that the King, our supreme Head and Governor, whose gracious Disposition doth not suffer him to cleave to any divided part of his Subjects, and to reject others that are alike Loyal, will, as a common Father, protect and cherish all those that are found capable and worthy, and become our great Moderator by his Authority and Wisdom, to lessen Differences, and allay Animosities between dissenting Brethren, which already agree in the main points of Religion.*

Observation. Having hitherto asserted, that those who fought under the late King's Banner, were not his Majesty's Friends; and that those who fought against it, ever were; he proceeds now to a Conclusion suitable to his premises, and states the Interest of the King in favour of that Voluntary Mistake: directing an Accord *betwixt all Reconcilable Parties*, and an indulgence toward all those that are *found Capable*, and

and *Worthy*. In *Both* (and in *All*) Caſes, the Presbyterian himſelf muſt be the Judge: and then we know what will become of *Royalliſts* and *Biſhops*.

The Kings Friends have ever had the Honor to be Divided (by theſe People) into perſons *Popiſhly affected*, *Evil Counſellors*, and *Looſe Livers*; and it is evident, that they deſign, under theſe Limitations of *Reconcilable*, *Capable*, and *Worthy*, to caſt all ſuch as Conſcientiouſly, and frankly adhere to *Monarchy*, and *Epiſcopacy*, out of the terms of their pretended Pacification. All thoſe that *They find Capable* and *Worthy*, and eſteem *Reconcilable*, ſhall be admitted. Now to the Queſtion.

I. Queſt. *Whether in Juſtice or Reaſon of State the* Presbyterian *party ſhould be Rejected and Depreſſed, or Protected and Encouraged?*

It would be firſt agreed what's meant by the *Presbyterian* Party: We'l weigh the *Juſtice* and *Reaſon* of the Propoſition after. His own Remarque upon it is not amiſs. *Obſervation.*

As concerning their true Character, the Notation of the name whereby they are called, is both too ſhallow, and too narrow for it. The word Presbyterian *hath not ſufficient depth to go to the root of the Matter, nor breadth ſufficient to comprehend this ſort of men. That Form of Eccleſiaſtical Government by Parochial* Page 19.

chial and Classical Presbyteries, Provincial and National Assemblies, is remote enough from their main Cause, and those firm Bonds that make them eternally one, in respect whereof many that approve a regulated Episcopacy, will be found of their number.

Observation.

'Tis truly and well said. Their *Cause* is not the *Form*, but the *Exercise* of Government: for they like well enough to have that Power Themselves, which they condemn in Others. Nor do I doubt but that *many of them approve a regulated Episcopacy*; that is, a *Presbyter* in a *Bishop*'s seat, where the *Office* appears *Regulated* by the *Person*, as 'tis in a *Regulated Monarchy*; Where the *King*'s subject to the *Law*, and the *Law* to the two *Houses*. But I condemn not All, that wear that Character. The Wise, and Honest Few of that Denomination, who keep themselves within the terms of Duty, and the Question; such as can talk of the Church, without disturbing the State; and debate their private Opinions, without giving publick Scandal: For these, I have much Charity, and Reverence, and wish as great a tenderness toward them, as they themselves desire. But where I see a Bold seditious Faction, bidding defiance to the Civil Magistrate under the Churches Colours: I find not any thing so Sacred in the Name of Presbyterian, as to protect a Turbulent Party assuming that Appellation. It will be urg'd, that they do as little Justifie the *Seditions*, as I condemn the

Sober

Sober Presbyterian. But to agree that point, I'l prove, that the ſame Party, for whom they plead, and againſt whom I engage, are no leſs Enemies to the *King*, and *People*, than to *Biſhops*: and, which is more, from their own practiſes and poſitions, I'l make it good. Yet one would hardly gueſs this from their following Character.

As concerning their main and rooted principles, they admire and magnifie the holy Scriptures, and take them for the abſolute perfect rule of Faith and Life, without the ſupplement of Eccleſiaſtical Tradition; yet they deny not due reſpect and reverence to venerable Antiquity. They aſſert the ſtudy and knowledge of the Scriptures, to be the duty and priviledge of all Chriſtians, that according to their ſeveral capacities, being skilful in the Word of Righteouſneſs, they may diſcern between good and evil, and being filled with all goodneſs, may be able to exhort and admoniſh one another: Yet they acknowledge the neceſſity of a ſtanding Goſpel-Miniſtery, and receive the directive authority of the Church, not with implicite Faith, but the Judgment of diſcretion: They hold the teaching of the Spirit neceſſary, to the ſaving knowledge of Chriſt: Yet they do not hold that the Spirit bringeth new Revelations, but that he opens the eyes of the underſtanding to diſcern what is of old revealed in the written Word: They exalt divine Ordinances, but debaſe humane Inventions in Gods Worſhip, particularly Page 20.

cularly Ceremonies properly Religious, and of Instituted Mystical signification: Yet they allow the natural expressions of Reverence and Devotion, as kneeling, and lifting up of the hands and eyes in prayer; as also of those meer Circumstances of decency and order, the omission whereof would make the service of God either undecent, or less decent. As they worship God in the spirit, according to the simplicity of Gospel Institutions, so they rejoyce in Christ Jesus, having no confidence in a legal Righteousness, but desire to be found in him, who is made unto us Rigteousness by gracious Imputation: Yet withal they affirm constantly, that good works of piety towards God, and of justice and charity towards men, are necessary to salvation. Their Doctrine bears full conformity with that of the Reformed Churches, held forth in their publick Confessions, and particularly with that of the Church of England, *in the nine and thirty Articles, onely one or two passages peradventure excepted, so far as they may import the asserting of* Prelacy, *and human Mystical Ceremonies. They insist much on the necessity of Regeneration, and therein lay the ground-work for the practise of godliness. They press upon themselves and others the severe exercise, not of a Popish, outside, formal, but a Spiritual and real mortification, and self-denyal, according to the power of Christianity. They are strict observers of the Lords Day, and constant in Family prayer. They abstain from oathes, yea, petty oathes, and the irreverent*

usage

uſage of Gods Name in common diſcourſe; and, in a word, they are ſober, juſt, and circumſpect in their whole behaviour. Such is the temper and conſtitution of this party, which in its full latitude lies in the middle between thoſe that affect a Ceremonial Worſhip, and the heighth of Hierarchical Government on the one hand, and thoſe that reject an ordained Miniſtery, and ſetled Church-order, and regular Unity on the other hand.

Here is much ſaid, and little proved; onely a Phariſaical Story, of what they are not, and what they are; that they are not as other men are, and their bare word for all. The Tale is well enough told to catch the ſilly vulgar, that look no further then Appearances: But to a ſerious perſon, how groſs, and palpable is the Impoſture! *In the main points of Doctrine they fully agree with the nine and thirty Articles:* and 'tis but *peradventure*, that they differ, *in one or two paſſages, ſo far as they may import the aſſerting of Prelacy, and humane Myſtical Ceremonies.*] *Obſervation.*

Behold the mighty Subject of an Holy War; the goodly *Idol*, to which we have ſacrific'd ſo much Chriſtian blood. Can any man imagine this the true and conſcientious reaſon of the Quarrel? Or that the middle way our Presbyter ſteers, betwixt *Phanaticiſm* and *Popery*, is the juſt meaſure of the Caſe: But hear him on, and he'l tell ye, the Party is *Numerous* as well as *Godly*.

Within

Page 23. *Within these extensive limits the* Presbyterian *Party contains several thousands of learned, godly, orthodox Ministers, being diligent and profitable Preachers of the Word, and exemplary in their Conversation; among whom there are not a few that excel in Polimical and Practical Divinity; also of the judicious, sober, serious part of the people, (in whose affections his Majesty is most concern'd) they are not the lesser number. By means of a practical Ministery, this way, like the Leaven in the Gospel-parable, hath spread and season'd the more considerate and teachable sort in all parts of the Kingdom, and especially in the more civiliz'd places, as Cities and Towns.*

Observation. It had been well our Undertaker had put his *Orthodox, and Learned Thousands* upon the List: for that Party is a little given to false Musters.

How many forg'd *Petitions* and *Remonstrances*; what Out-cries from the Press and Pulpit, in the name of the People, when yet the forti'th part of them were never privy to their own Askings! *Of* * *ninety and seven Ministers within the walls of* London, *fourscore and five were driven from their Churches, and Houses, at the beginning of our Troubles.* And notwithstanding the monstrous Clamours, which occasion'd the Conference at *Hampton-Court* in 1603. * Arch-bishop *Spotswood* tells us, that [*of above nine thousand Ministers, but forty nine appeared upon the Roll, that stood out, and were deposed for disconformity. Such a noise*

* *English and Scotch Presbytery,* pag. 316.

* *Hist. of the Ch. of Scotl.* p. 479.

will

will a few Disturbers cause in any Society, where they are tollerated.]

Touching his *Practical Ministery*; I'l grant, the *Cause* is much beholden to the *Pulpit*, and that, without the aid of Seditious Lectures, I do believe the strife had never come to Blood: But yet these Preachments did not the whole Business. Do not we know what Craft and Violence hath been used to Cheat and Force the People; what *Protestations*, *Covenants*, and *Negative Oathes* have been imposed, upon pain of *Imprisonment*, *Banishment*, *Sequestration*? Have not all Schools, and Nurceries of Piety and Learning, been subjected to the Presbyterian mode, and many thousands of Godly, and Reverend Divines, reduced to beg their Bread, because they would not *Covenant*: yet all too little to procure either a General Kindess, or submission to their Principles? *The Presbyterians practical Ministery.*

For the Reasons afore-going, the infringement of due Liberties in these matters, would perpetuate most unhappy Controversies in the Church from Age to Age. Let the former times come in, and give good Evidence. As touching Ceremonies, the Contest began early, even in King Edward's *Reign, between* Hooper *and other Bishops. The Consecration of* Hooper, *Elect Bishop of* Glocester *being stayed, because he refused to wear certain Garments used by Popish Bishops, he obtained Letters from the King and from the Earl of* Warwick, *to the Arch-bishop of* Canterbury *and others, that he might not be burthened with certain Rites and* Pag. 25.

Ceremonies

Ceremonies, and an Oath commonly used in the Consecration of Bishops, which were offensive to his Conscience. Nevertheless he found but harsh dealing from his fellow-Bishops, whereof some were afterwards his fellow-Martyrs, and Ridley *among others, who afterwards thus wrote unto him, when they were both Prisoners for the Gospel.* [However in time past in certain Circumstances and By-matters of Religion, your wisdom, and my simplicity (I grant) hath a little jarred, each of us following the abundance of his own sense and judgment: Now be assured, that even with my whole heart, in the Bowels of Christ, I love you in the truth, and for the truth's sake which abideth in us.] *Some godly Martyrs in Queen* Mary's *days disliked the Ceremonies, and none of them died in the defence of Ceremonies, Liturgy, and Prelacy, in opposition to all other Ecclesiastical Government and Order. It was the Protestant verity which they witnessed, and sealed in blood, in opposition to Popery; especially the prodigious Opinion of Transubstantiation, and the Abomination of the Romish Mass or Sacrifice. In the same bloody days, certain English Protestants being fled for refuge into* Germany, *and setled at* Frankford, *were divided amongst themselves about the Service-book, even with scandalous breach of Charity and in the issue, the Congregation was sadly broken and dissipated.*

Observation. Presbyterian Liberty.

What is intended by *Due Liberty*, might be a Doubt, did not the Coherence explain it to be a Freedom of Acting to all intents and purposes

purpoſes at pleaſure, (whether without Law, or againſt it, no matter) according to ſuch preſidents of Former times, as our Reſolver refers unto, and juſtifies. He tells us, *The conteſt about Ceremonies began early*; and ſo in truth it did: For in the time of King *Edward*, there was a wambling toward the *Geneva Diſcipline*; but neither very earneſt, nor very popular: and *That* (ſo far as I can learn) procured even by the Author of that Platform, *Calvin* himſelf. Concerning *Godly Martyrs in Queen Mary's days*; Some ſuffered that diſliked the Ceremonies, Others, that liked them. That *none died in defence of them*, is a Remarque might have been ſpared; For the Queſtion was matter of *Faith*, not *Diſcipline*.

The *Frankford Breach* indeed was a ſad Story, but yet, conſidering the *Dividers*, of no great *Honor*, or *Authority* to our Friends purpoſe. *Knox* and *Whittingham* were the prime Ring-leaders in this Diſorder, who upon ſome Diſputes ſtarted about the Service-book, joyning with others of the Conſiſtorian ſtamp, drew ſuch an extract of it, as they thought fit, and ſent it to *Calvin*, requeſting his Opinion of it. Such was the Anſwer they received, as blew the whole Congregation into a flame; from whence aroſe that ſcandalous breach enſuing. *viz.* The *Engliſh Service* being eſtabliſhed, *Whittingham*, *Gilby*, *Goodman*, with ſome others, *Divided*, and went to *Geneva*, whence, both by Letters and Diſcourſes, they tampered the Miniſters and People of *England* and *Scotland* into a revolt, encou-

raging them to ſet up their new Diſcipline, in deſpite of all Oppoſers whatſoever.

page 27. *The Goſpel returning under Queen* Elizabeth, *theſe differences were revived and held up by Diſputes, Writings, and Addreſſes to ſeveral Parliaments; and there were great thoughts of heart for theſe Diviſions.*

Obſervation. Why this is Engliſh yet: it is but turning now to Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign to underſtand theſe people, and unriddle the *Due Liberty* they plead for. (But of This, in its proper place) Having drawn down the Quarrel from *Edward* the Sixth, to the bleſſed Reſtauration of *Charls* the Second, (whom God protect) he proceeds to deſcant upon the Preſent.

page 28. *The greateſt part of the Miniſters named* Puritans, *yielded conformity to thoſe controverted Rites and Forms, that were by Law or Canons eſtabliſhed, as to things burdenſome not deſirable, in their nature ſuppoſed indifferent, but in their uſe many ways offenſive; and groaning more and more under the yoke of bondage, (as they conceived) they waited for deliverance, and were in the main, of one ſoul and ſpirit with the* Nonconformiſts. *And even then the way called* Puritaniſm, *did not give, but get ground. But now the Tenents of this way are rooted more than ever; and thoſe things formerly impoſed, are now by many, if not by the moſt of this way, accounted not onely burdenſome, but unlawful.*

But

But is it ſo, that Matters *by Law eſtabliſhed*, in themſelves *Indifferent*, and onely *Burthenſome* to day, (*rebus ſic ſtantibus*) may become *Unlawful* to morrow? By the ſame Rule, *Kings* may be taken away as well as *Biſhops*; all Dignities and Powers being alike ſubmitted to a Popular Level: For if the People ſhall think fit to ſay, the *Magiſtrate* is unlawful, as well as the *Ceremony*, by the ſame reaſon he may deſtroy *One* with the *Other*; and Virtually he does it. We know, the *Rites* and *Forms* of *Worſhipping*, are not of the *Eſſence* of Religion, and the huge buſtle about Diſcipline, is onely an Appeal to Ignorance and Tumult. *The Church muſt be Reformed.* By whom? Not by the Rabble. What means this application then of ſo many factious Sermons, and Libels to the *People*? They are not Judges of the Controverſie. But in a Cauſe more capable of *Force* than *Argument*, they do well to Negotiate, where *Clamour*, and *Pretence*, weigh more than *Modeſty* and *Reaſon*. If a man asks, by what Commiſſion Act theſe Zelots? They anſwer readily: *'Tis God's Cauſe, and better obey God than Man.* He that ſaid, *Give not Credit to every Spirit*; I ſuppoſe knew as much of Gods mind, as our *Illuminates*. Is not miſtaken, or perverted Scripture, the ground of all *Schiſm* and *Hereſie*? *Counſels may erre*, they ſay, and cannot *Presbyterians*? How comes this Party to be more infallible than their Neighbours? If they are not, let but all other people of Different Judgments take the ſame Freedom they do,

Obſervation.

The conſequents of Presbyterian Liberty.

of out-cries against any thing, under pretext of Conscience; let any man imagine the confusion. *For, where every man is his own Judge, All men shall dispute, till each Particular condemns himself; so that the Strife is Endless, and the Event Restlesness, and Confusion.*

This comes of not submitting to some Final, and over-ruling Decision. Upon this pinch at a dead lift, they fly to their *Judgment of Discretion*: which leaves them still at Liberty to shape their Duty to their Profit. They tell us; *They'l be tryed by the Word of God:* not heeding, how *That* is again to be tri'd by *Them*: so that in Issue, their private Interpretation of the Scriptures must pass for the *Law Paramount*, to which both King and People are equally, and indispensably subjected. Undoubtedly, what God commands, we ought to do, and not to do what he forbids. This, in few words, comprises the Duty of Reasonable Nature, without distinction either of *Offices* or *Persons*. But these inviolable *Fundamentals* apart, the *Accidents* of Worship, the *Modes* of doing this or that; The *How*, *When*, *Where*, &c. are left various, and variable, according to the several Requiries of *Manners*, *Times*, and *Places*, at the Discretion of those Rulers whom God sets over us. Where we find matters of this middle nature orderly setled, and dispos'd, we are commanded *to submit to these Humane Ordinances for the Lords sake*; and not to Obtrude upon the Word for *Conscience*, such Disagreements, as effectually arise from *Peevishness*, or want of due

due *Enquiry*. But why do I talk to those that stop their Ears?

Their minds are fix'd in this Opinion, after a long time of search and practice, and are not like to be reduc'd to the practice of former times. Page 29.

This is but *Martin Junior Revived*, who says, *That it will be very dangerous to our State, to maintain two contrary Factions; That the Magistrates are then bound, even for the quieting of our State, to put down the one; That those that stand for the Discipline, neither can nor will give it over, (so as they will not be put down) and that the said Magistrates cannot maintain the corruption of our Church, namely, Arch-bishops and Bishops, without the discontentment of their Subjects.* Observation.

Me-thinks the man of peace grows peremptory. Will not this Argument from *Search* and *Practice*, absolve them from Obedience to the King, as well as to the Church? Has not the *Regal Power* been scann'd and sifted, as well as the *Ecclesiastick*? or have their practises been more favourable to his Majesty, than to the Clergy? But (*their minds are fix'd, and not to be reduc'd.*) This is to say, that if the Law and they cannot agree, they'l tug for't, upon this supposition, thus he concludes. *That (in all reason, the imposing of such matters of Controversie, as by so many are held unlawful, and by those that have a Zeal* Page 29.

for them judged indifferent, not neceſſary, cannot procure the peace of Church and Kingdom.)

Obſervation. I ſay on the Contrary, That the peace of Church and Kingdom cannot be preſerved, where every private and Licentious ſpirit ſhall dare to Queſtion the Authority of either. In fine, admit the Scruple truly conſcientious. It would be well yet, that ſuch as fault the preſent Government, would Frame another, that ſhould be liable to no exceptions, before they alter This. If that cannot be done, let us Reſt Here; for if we are bound to change till all are pleas'd, never muſt we expect to be at quiet. Some Conſciences will have no Magiſtrates at all; Others will Govern thoſe they have, or Quarrel with them. To Reconcile theſe Two in any end of Settlement, is as Impoſſible, as 'tis Unſafe to put much power into the Hands of People, ſo dangerouſly principled; (But to Deſtroy a Government none agree better, and this we ſpeak upon Experience.)

From hence to his 40th. page, I find little but Rapture, in commendation of the *Presbyterians*, with now and then a ſnap at the late *Prelates*, which is beſide my purpoſe. See now his Complement to the King.

Page 40. *Bleſſed be God for our gracious Soveraign, who makes it his care and ſtudy to allay diſtempers, and compoſe differences by his juſt and gracious Conceſſions already publiſhed concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.* For

For fear his Majesty's Concessions should be taken for a pure Act of Grace, they are epitheted, *Just*, as well as *Gracious*, to lessen the Favour, by intimating the Duty; what Return gives the *Presbyterian* Party for this Indulgence? Are they not troublesome as ever both in their Writings and Contrivements? *Observation.*

That *Declaration* was no sooner publique, but a Petition was exhibited from divers Ministers in and about *London*, for more Liberty, with some formalities indeed of Gratitude for That. How many bold and scandalous Invectives since that time, both from the Press and Pulpit, against the Rites of the Church, and the Episcopal Clergy: Nay, and against the Sacred Majesty of That very Person, to whose Incomparable Clemency they owe their Heads and Fortunes? One observation here, to shew, that onely severity can work upon this Faction; * *The single imprisonment of* Crofton *hath quieted that Party more, than all the multiply'd, and transcendent Mercies of His Majesty.* * Note.

That worthy Gentleman, in his Epistle Dedicatory to the *Liturgical Considerator*, tells us, that [*The Common-prayer-book hath been expell'd by a lawful Authority,*] (referring to an Ordinance of *January* 3. 1644.) If this be not *Treason*, then *Scot* and *Peters* were no *Traitors*. The *Considerator* further assures us, *Page* 34. [*That very few Christians that know the Power of Godlineß, care for medling with the Liturgy.*] I hope his Majesty may pass for one of those *Few*. *Crofton.*

A great Assertor of his Principles is the

Authour of the *Covenanters Plea*, although in ſome Reſpects more plauſibly couch'd; in others Bolder; treating His Majeſty with a moſt unpardonable Inſolence, and with a Suitable regard all his Epiſcopal Friends as they fall in his way. I ſhould exceedingly wonder how he ſcap'd a laſh from the laſt Convention, eſpecially Dedicating that reverend piece to the *Commons* then Aſſembled, did I not conſider, that Thoſe very Pamphlets, whereof His Majeſty complains in His Declaration, touching *Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*, were by my ſelf, at their firſt comming forth, delivered to ſeveral Members of that Seſſion, which notwithſtanding, they were ſtill ſold in the Hall; all the Intereſt I had being too little to get them ſuppreſſed. But now return we to our Author, who complains, that

Page 41. *The Presbyterians are loaded with many Calumnies; as, that they are againſt the Intereſt of Civil Magiſtracy, eſpecially of Monarchy; That they are giddy, factious, ſchiſmatical, domineering, and what not?*

Page 42. But no ſuch matter he aſſures us; for, *They yield unto the Supreme Magiſtrate a Supreme political Power in all Spiritual Matters; but they do not yield that he is the Fountain of ſpiritual power, there being a ſpiritual Power belonging to the Church, if there were no Chriſtian Magiſtrate in the world. They aſſert onely a ſpiritual power over the Conſcience, as intrinſecally belonging to the Church; and acknowledge,*

knowledge, that no Decree nor Canon of the Church, can be a binding Law to the Subjects of any Kingdom under temporal penalties, till it be ratified by the Legiſlative power of that Kingdom. And they do not claim for the Convocation, or any other Eccleſiaſtical Convention, an Independency on Parliaments; if they did, ſurely the Parliament of England *would reſent ſuch a Claim.*

Neither are they *Antimonarchical. Did the Engliſh or Scotiſh Presbyters ever go about to diſſolve Monarchy, and to erect ſome other kind of Government? In no wiſe: for in the Solemn League and Covenant, they bound themſelves to endeavour the preſervation of the King's Perſon and Authority, and declared they had no intent to diminiſh his Majeſty's juſt Power and Greatneſs.*

How far their Principles comport with the Intereſt of *Civil Magiſtracy* or *Monarchy*, ſhall have a place by it ſelf: yet I might very well content my ſelf with what ariſes from his own words, as they lie here before us; to Prove what he Denies; for in the ſame Breath he both Starts the Queſtion and Reſolves it. *Did not the Engliſh and Scotch Presbyters go about to diſſolve Monarchy?* *Obſervation.*

What is the Analyſis of *Monarchy*, but a *Government* by a *Single Perſon*? (and, as I take it, the Injur'd Father of our preſent Soveraign was That Perſon, to whom of Right the Regal Dignity belonged.) Did not theſe *Presbyters* he talks of, *place the Supreme Power* *Presbytery Antimonarchical.*

in the Two Houſes, and under Their Commiſſion, *ſeize the King's Towns, and Forts; Levy Arms; Tax the People; Plunder, and Kill their Fellow-Subjects; Impoſe Oathes; Share His Majeſty's Revenues; Perſue, and Jewiſhly ſell and betray His Sacred Perſon?*

If to do all this, not onely Without, but expreſly Againſt the King's Commiſſion, be not *to go about to diſſolve Monarchy*, I know not what is. Or if the Gentleman had rather diſpute the Royal Prerogative, than confeſs his own Miſtake in this Particular, we'l look a little that way too: but I doubt the Proſpect will be none of the pleaſanteſt.

Upon the Trial of *Cook* and *Peters*, This was Delivered for Law. *See the Narrative*, Page 182 and 183.

The two Houſes have no Coercive Power over the King.

It is the Law of this Nation, That no One Houſe, nor Both Houſes of Parliament, have any Coercive power over the King: ——*That the Impriſoning of the King is Treaſon.* And a little further, Thus, *The King of England is one of thoſe Princes who hath an Imperial Crown: What's That? It is not to do what he will; No, but it is, that he ſhall not be puniſhed in his own Perſon, if he doth That which is in it ſelfe Unlawful.*

This is a ſhort and clear deciſion of the Caſe: nor will it ſerve the good man's turn

to argue their Integrity, from what they were bound to by their *Covenant* and *Declarations*. It matters not what they *Profeſs'd*, but what they *Did*. If this be all they have to ſay; ſome Heads are now upon the City-Gates that ſaid as much.

What was the *Covenant*, but a Popular Sacrament of Religious Diſobedience, a Mark of Diſcrimination, who were againſt the King, and who were for him? And this the Marquis of *Montroſs* ſoon found, who being at firſt unwarily engaged in it, with the *Kirk-party*, quickly perceived his error, and retired; Living and dying the Honor of his Nation, and of the Royal Cauſe. Mark this, * *His Loyalty was charged upon him at his Death, for Breach of Covenant.* *The Covenant an Oath of Confederacy.* * Note.

The *Preſbyterian Caſuiſts* would fain perſwade the Nation, to think themſelves obliged by that *Engagement*. Who *Underſtands* it firſt? (And certainly we cannot be bound to do we know not what) *Next*, 'tis impoſſible either to *Keep*, or *Break* it: 'tis made up of ſo many Contradictions. But once for All; there is a *Nullity* in the *Inſtitution*.

No man can oblige himſelf in things wherein he is ſubject, without leave from his Superior. And again; *The Oath of One who is under the power of Another, without the others conſent, is neither Lawful nor Obligatory.* Thus the Reverend, and Learned *Biſhop Sanderſon*. Now to my *Preſbyterian* again. The Covenant neither lawful nor binding.

After the violent change of Government, Pag. 44.

they

they came ſloweſt, and entred lateſt into thoſe new Engagements impoſed by the Uſurped Powers, and ſome utterly refuſed, even to the forfeiture of their preferments, and the hazzard of their livelyhoods, when the Nation in general ſubmitted to the yoke; and many of thoſe who thus object againſt them, did in temporizing run with the foremoſt. The truth is, the generality of Conſcientious Presbyterians never ran with the current of thoſe times. Some more eminent among them, Miniſters and others, hazzarded their lives, and others loſt their lives, in combining to bring our Soveraign that now is to the rightful poſſeſſion of this his Kingdom. And thoſe in Scotland *adventured no more then all to uphold him; and when he loſt the Day, they loſt their Liberty; and when he fell, it was ſaid by the Adverſary, Presbytery was fallen.*

Obſervation. Some honeſt Presbyterians.

Where I muſt either leave the Story foul on the Kings ſide, or prove it ſo on the Other, my choice is pardonable: but otherwiſe I ſhall be very tender of engaging the *Honeſt Presbyterians*, with the *Guilty*. That many of them lov'd His Majeſty, and ſuffer'd for him, I will not queſtion; and that they all ſubmitted moſt unwillingly, to that *Violent Change* here mention'd, I do as little doubt. But I muſt needs ſay, the Action had been Nobler, and the Loyalty much Clearer, had they conſulted the Kings Security, before they loſt their own.

This does not yet oblige me to the ſame Charity for the *Scotiſh Party*; who firſt, daring

during a Treaty with His Majesty, basely and brutishly murthered *Montrose*, and after that, Treated the King himself, liker a Prisoner, than a Prince.

He urges, that [*the Presbyterians first divided, and then dissipated the Sectarian Party, and so made way for his Majesties return in Peace.*] *Lambert*, and his Nine Worthies did as much. Page 45.

I do believe him too, [*that the sense of the Covenant quickned many men's Consciences in their allegiance to the King.*] So did the Cock-crowing mind St. *Peter* of the denial of his Master. *But he went out, and wept bitterly*; So does not every body. Alas, alas, the Saints have no faults; what should they weep for? *It may be peradventure said, the Presbyterians would enervate Monarchy; but surely* (says our Discourser) Page 46.

I cannot find the rise of this Objection, unless from hence, that they were not willing to come under any yoke, but that of the Law of the Realm, or to pay Arbitrary Taxes, levied without consent of Parliament. Ibid.

From hence these two Deductions; First, That the Subject's free, from that which binds the King, namely, the *Yoke of Law*. Suppose He breaks that Law, by what Law can we question him? At best, 'tis but to punish One Transgression by Another. The *Second* Hint is Dis-ingenuous: as if *Arbitrary Taxes* had been the subject of the Difference. All the world knows, before a blow *Observation.*

blow was ſtrook, the King had ſtript himſelf to his *Honour*, and his *Conſcience*, to gratifie his People. But 'twas the *Government* they aim'd at, and that they fought for. Here is yet another gentle ſlip: What are *Taxes* to *Presbytery*? But this is a Devil that will hardly be kept within his Circle.

Juſt ſo in their Practices do they reduce all Civil Actions, under the Cognizance of their Courts of Conſcience, as he brings here by head and ſhoulders, **Arbitrary Taxes** to **Matter of Religion.**

page 46. *I confeſs* (ſays he) *there are none that more reverence their Liberties, and value the native-happineſs of the free-born Subjects of* England. *And verily their true knowledge and ſenſe of the nature of Chriſtian Religion, makes a due freedom exceeding precious: For this Religion is not variable, according to the will of man, but grounded upon an unchangeable and eternal truth, and doth indiſpenſably bind every ſoul, high and low, to one divine Law and Rule, perpetual and unalterable. And therefore doth ſtrongly plead the expedience of a due civil Liberty on the behalf of its Profeſſors; yet ſuch a liberty as will not enfeeble Monarchy, nor the Legal power of the Kings of* England.

Obſervation. Truly I think I have not ſeen words ſo well put together, that ſignifie ſo little. *Becauſe Religion is not variable, but grounded upon an unchangeable and eternal Truth*, &c. ——

Therefore

Therefore the Profeſſors of it muſt have a due civil Liberty, &c. Is not a *Due Liberty*, *Due* to all people? Again, *What is civil Liberty to matter of ſalvation*? And yet again. Why ſhould the Presbyterians challenge that liberty to themſelves, which they refuſe to others, upon the very ſame Plea: and not rather ſubmit their *Diſcipline* to the *Law*, then ſtoop the *Law* to their *Diſcipline*? There is a *Liberty which is a cloak for Maliciouſneſs*: and I am afraid, *Theirs* and *That* are much a-kinn. One thing is very notable; they never ſtate what they would have, their terms are general, and indefinite, hard to be underſtood, becauſe they are reſolv'd not to be ſatisfi'd. *A Due Freedom*, *a Due Civil Liberty*, *The Legal Power*;—— What means all this, but any thing they ſhall be pleaſed to make of it?

A King ruling a free People, hath a Power much more noble and more free, than he that ruleth over perfect Vaſſals, that have no Propriety. The power is more noble, becauſe it hath a more noble ſubject of Government; it is more honorable to rule Men than Beaſts, and Freemen than ſlaves. Likewiſe the power is more free: For whatſoever Prince hath not his power limited by his people's legal freedom, he will be bound up ſome other way, either by the potency of ſubordinate Princes and great Lords within the Realm, or by a veterane Army, as the Turkiſh *Emperor by his Janizaries, and the* Roman Cæſars *by the Pretorian Bands and the Legions. Upon which account, to be a powerful Monarch,* Page 47.

Monarch over a free people, is the freedome and glory of our Soveraign Lord, above all the Potentates on earth.

Observation. *A King ruling a free people*, is a kind of *Presbyterianism*, and sounds better in the mouth of a Lawyer, than of a Divine. The Correlate to *Rule*, is *Subjection*: nor will their Title to a Propriety, yet justifie the common usage of the Term. 'Tis of a dangerous Intimation, and seems to give the people more than comes to their share. (I speak with reverence to the benignity of our English Laws, and the Indubitable right which every Subject hath to the Benefits thereof.)

That *it is more honorable to Rule Free-men than Slaves*, is but a Complement For I can make those *Slaves*, *Free*, when I please, whereas the other way my power's confin'd; that is, in *Equity*, a Prince is *bound* to observe the *Law*, as his own Act: and if he fails, the people may compel him to it, *if they can shew a Law for't.* To end this point; What Prince soever shall suffer every bubling brain to controvert the bounds of *King* and *Subject*; the *Royal Authority*, and the *Peoples Freedom*; that Prince, I say, runs a great hazzard of his Soveraignty. The very moving of the Question, is to prophane the Sacredness of Majesty; and by degrees begets irreverend and sawcy habits in the people.

Page 48. *But Rebellion* (he tells us) *and Disobedience, is the loud out-cry of some against this Party.*

And

And this were a crying ſin indeed. But let not ſober minds be hurried into prejudice by ſuch exclamations and out-cries. It were to be wiſhed, for common peace and amity, that the late publick Diſcords were eternally forgotten. But ſeeing ſome in theſe times of expected Reconciliation, will not ceaſe to implead and condemn the honeſt minded, and render them odious to the higher Powers, a neceſſity is laid upon us to ſpeak ſomething Apologetical, at leaſt to mitigate the buſineſs, and remove prejudice.

Sure *this loud out-cry of Rebellion and Diſobedience*, comes from within himſelf; for truly I have a little watch'd the Preſs, and ſince his Majeſty's Return, (nay, a good while before) upon my conſcience I have not met with one ſyllable of bitterneſs againſt that Party, but *Defenſive*: Yet I dare undertake to produce forty Presbyterian Pamplets, and Diſcourſes, of freſh date, exceeding foul againſt the *King*, and his *Adherents*. It really makes me bluſh and tremble, to conſider how great a mercy they abuſe, how ſad a vengeance they provoke. Had but theſe people the leaſt ſpark of *natural affection* and *remorſe*, the venerable ruines of a glorious Chuch and State would work upon them; Or now and then a thought how matters ſtand betwixt God and their Souls: But their great care of others make them neglect themſelves, and become true *Anathemaes* for a pretended publick good. However they do well to cry Whore firſt; and call that a *Neceſſitated Apology*, which

Obſervation.

Presbyterians ſeditious and impenitent.

which seems to me a palpable and causeless Slander.

We have heard much and often of the Presbyterians *Loyalty* and *Religion*; we'l look a little now into their *Law*, which very fairly gives us to understand, that the *Unbishopping* of *Timothy and Titus*, will not do their trick. They are at work already upon the two main props of Royalty; the King's *Negative Voice*, and the *Power of the Sword*. A blessed Age the while, when the *Pulpit* shall pretend to dispose of the *Crown*; Kerve out the *Government*; and every scribling *Priest* vent his seditious and crude Politiques to the People. But now it works.

page 49. *The Presbyterian Party in* England *never engaged under a less Authority than that of both Houses of Parliament. I have read, that the Parliament of* England *hath several capacities, and among the rest, these two; First, that it represents the People as Subjects, and so it can do nothing but manifest their grievances, and petition for relief. Secondly, That by the constitution it hath part in the Soveraignty, and so it hath part in the Legislative power, and in the final Judgment. Now when as a part of the Legislative Power resides in the Two Houses, as also a Power to redress grievances, and to call into question all Ministers of State and Justice, and all Subjects of whatsoever degree in case of Delinquency, it might be thought, that a part of the Supreme Power doth reside in them, though they have not the honorary Title.*

Me-thinks

Me-thinks we should do well to leave calling the *Two Houses*, the *Parliament of England*, having already paid so dear for that mistake. Concerning the *Power* of the *Parliament of England*. 'Tis beyond doubt, onely inferiour to the Fountain of all Power, even God Himself. But then an *Agreement* is imply'd; neither *King*, *Lords*, nor *Commons*, nor any *Two* of them, can pretend to a Parliamentary Authority, without the *Third*. This is not to suppose *Co-ordination* neither. The *Two Houses* are still *Subjects*: Their Office being onely *Consultive*, or *Preparatory*. The Character of *Power* rests in the *final Sanction*, and that's the King's: So that effectually, the passing of a Bill, is but the *granting of a Request*.

Observation. The Two Houses, not the Parliament.

So much for *Parliaments*, in propriety of speaking. Now to the Power of the *Two Houses*, by my Antagonist mis-call'd, *The Parliament of England*, upon which Bottom stands the Presbyterian Fabrick.

He tell us, They Act in *Two Capacities*. As *Subjects*, or *Petitioners*, first: and Then, as *Sharers* of the *Soveraignty*: As if he said, They are sent to Ask what they List, and Take what they Please. The *Petitioning Capacity* is not for the Presbyterians purpose; wherefore he waves That, and sticks to the Other. What their *Power* is, will best appear from the King's Writ of Summons, which both *Commands* and *Limits* them, *Pro QUIBUSDAM arduis, & urgentibus negotiis*, &c. ——*ORDINAVIMUS*, &c.—— He states it otherwise,

wise, and places *a part of the Legislative Power in the Two Houses*, which is not Doctor-like. For the *Legislative Power* is totally the King's. *They* do but make the *Bill*, He makes the *Law*; 'Tis the *Stamp*, not the *Coyner*, makes it current. Nor do I comprehend what he can mean by *Part of the Legislative Power*: to my thinking, he might as well have said, *Part of an Indivisible Point*. This will come to a pretty Fraction, Two Thirds of a Parliament, shall make Two Thirds of a Law. Is it not enough that the King can do nothing without the Two Houses, unless they may do every thing without the King? Grant this, and of all people living we are the greatest Slaves, as of all Constitutions ours is the most Ridiculous.

The Legislative power in the King.

Touching *the power of the two Houses to Redress Grievances, and Question all Administers of State and Justice*, The Power they have is either from Prescription or Commission. To the Former, I think, Few will pretend; and to the Latter, None.

The Two Houses no Court of Judicature.

Never was the House of *Commons*, at any hand reputed a Court of *Justice*. They cannot give an Oath, impose a Fine: nor indeed exercise any Empire but over their own Members. 'Tis true, the *Lords* House hath in some Cases a Right of Judicature; but Claiming by *Prescription*, they are likewise Limited by *Customs*. Further, *Both Houses* are no Court of Judicature, and (with due Reverence to his Majesty) the King himself in Parliament, joyn'd with the Three Estates, claim not a right

right of Judication, but very rarely, and with great Tenderneſs. It is the proper buſineſs of a Parliament to *Make Laws*, *Alter*, or *Repeal* them, not to *Interpret* them, unleſs in matters of very great Importance. That's left to the Judges; and to determine of their Validity. For Acts of Parliament, either *Repugnant* in themſelves, or of *impoſſible Suppoſition*, or againſt *Common Right*, are deem'd not Binding.

The Common, and moſt ſpecious ſhift of all the reſt, is, that *the Government of this Nation is in King, Lords, and Commons.* This muſt be ſwallowed with great warineſs, or 'twill choak half the Nation. By the KING, *Architectonice*; and by the other TWO, *Organice*, (as *Walker* diſtinguiſhes it) the *King*, as the *Architect*; and the *Two Houſes*, as his *Inſtruments*. If there were neither *Practice*, *Law*, nor *Intereſt* in the Caſe; me-thinks the very odds of Honor in the Deputation, ſhould be Enough to carry it. The *King* is *God*'s Repreſentative, *They* are but the *Peoples*.

Say I ſhould now admit them all they challenge, (as Delegated by the People) ſo tickle is the point yet, that if any one ſingle Perſon of the number, ſhould be illegally debarr'd the Freedom of his Vote; that nicety avoids, and nulls the whole Proceeding. I can hardly think any thing clearer, than the error of placing *part of the Supreme Power in the two Houſes.* It implies a Contradiction: A *part* of a Thing (with leave) *Impartible.* (But Drowning men will catch at Straws)

Presbyters ſerve King and Biſhops alike.

However, I perceive, that his Majeſty's beſt *Friends*, and the *Church*'s, (as they ſtyle themſelves) are reſolved to ſerve both *King* and *Biſhops* alike. That is; juſt as the Biſhop is to rule in *Conſociation* with his Presbyters, ſo ſhall his Majeſty with his *Fellow-Princes*, the Presbyterian Members. It cannot but exceedingly diſpoſe the King, to grant theſe people all DUE LIBERTY, that will give him ſo much. Crowns are but Troubleſome; and Government ſits heavy upon the ſhoulders of a Single Perſon; They'l eaſe him of that Care and Weight: and for the *honor of their Prince, and their Country's good*, divide the Glorious load among themſelves.

Exact Col. 316.

This being paſt, (which heaven avert) *We may* (ſays the late King) *be waited on bare-headed, we may have our Hand kiſs'd, the ſtyle of Majeſty continued to us, and the King's Authority, declared by both Houſes of Parliament, may be ſtill the ſtyle of your Commands; we may have Swords and Maces carried before us, and pleaſe our Self with Sight of a Crown and Scepter.*] —— But ſoft, the Man relents, and tells us, (though the Law ſays, the King can do no wrong) [*That This part of the Supreme power, is indeed capable of doing wrong, yet how it might be Guilty of Rebellion, is more difficult to conceive.*]

page 49.

Obſervation.

Put caſe the two Houſes ſhould take up Arms againſt the King, becauſe he will not Baniſh the one half of his Friends, and hang up the reſt: would not that be Rebellion? I could

could ſtart twenty Suppoſitions more; but I'll ſtop here, and the rather, becauſe our Author profeſſes, that [*in this high and tender point, it belongs not to him to Determine.*] Yet he goes on, and certainly believes, that the world is divided into *Fools* and *Presbyterians*: he would not otherwiſe have thruſt upon us ſo groſs a Juggle, as that which I am now about to examine.

Touching the much debated point of reſiſting the higher Powers, without paſſing any judgment in the great Caſe of England, *I ſhall onely make rehearſal of the words of* Grotius, *a man of Renown, and known to be neither Anti-monarchical nor Anti-prelatical, which are found in his Book*, De jure Belli & Pacis, *by himſelf dedicated to the French King.* (Si Rex partem habeat ſummi Imperii, partem alteram populus aut Senatus, Regi in partem non ſuam involanti, vis juſta opponi poterit, quia eatenus Imperium non habet. Quod locum habere cenſeo, etiamſi dictum ſit, belli poteſtatem penes Regem fore. Id enim de bello externo intelligendum eſt, cum alioqui quiſquis Imperii ſummi partem habeat, non poſſit non jus habere eam partem tuendi.) *lib.* 1. *c.* 4. *ſ.* 13. page 50.

Here we find *Grotius* cited, to juſtifie, that the Lords and Commons may make war againſt the King, to defend their Title to the Supreme Power. (*Pythagoras his opinion concerning Wild-fowl*, had been as much to the purpoſe.) *Obſervation. Presbyterian Loyalty.*

purpose) For the English Reader's sake I'll *turn* it; and in this point desire a more than ordinary attention.

Where the Supremacy is in the King, in some Cases; in Others, in the People, or Senate. That King invading the others Right, may be Lawfully resisted; for his power reaches not so far. And this I think will stand good, although I have already placed the right of making War, in the King; for that must be understood of a forreign War: Since whosoever hath a part of the Supreme Power, hath consequently a right of maintaining such part as he hath. ¶ There is one line yet remaining, which our Author hath very prudently kept for a Reserve, till the Presbyterians shall have gotten the better of the King. *Quod ubi fit, potest Rex etiam suam Imperii partem belli jure amittere*; That is, *Where thus it happens, the King's encroachment upon the Peoples Right, may fairly amount to a forfeiture of his own.*

Is it not pity that people of these milde, and complying Principles, should be charg'd with *Disobedience*? If this be the case of *England*, the Question is no longer, the *Presbyterians Liberty*, but the *King's Title* to his *Crown*.

That Chapter of *Grotius*, whence he takes his Quotation, treats *De Bello fulsitorum, in Superiores; Where, and where not, Subjects may take up Arms against their Superiors.* This learned man, among other Cases, tells us, in this they may, and the Reason is evident; For where the Soveraignty is thus dispos'd;

pos'd; half to the *King*, half to the People, that Prince is but a *Subject* to some purposes, a *King* to others. So that in any point of Soveraignty, formally vested in the People; He is not their Superior, but they his. How finely he hath match'd the Case of *England*, where Kings have no Restraint, but what they put upon themselves, for the Laws are their proper Acts! But mark the process of his Reasonings: and how (in his own phrase) *he feels his way step by step. The Presbyterians were ever in the right*; he says. Why, if he would be quiet, who says the contrary? But then the King was in the wrong.

To bring the Case up to *Grotius* his determination: we must admit *First*, that by the constitution of *England*, the Soveraignty is shared betwixt the King and the two Houses: and *Next*, that the late King did actually invade the Popular Prerogative: from whence arises the lawfulness of resistance; and after that, *Potest Rex etiam suam Imperii partem Belli jure amittere.* They have at last the same right to the Crown, they had at first to the Quarrel. He that peruses the first eight Sections of the fore-mentioned Chapter, will find *Grotius* no favourer of his Opinions that quotes him. Be the Prince what he will, he tells us, *Summum Imperium tenentibus resisti jure non posse.* *Bodin* yet more expressly, that *England and Scotland are absolute Monarchies:* That the *Supreme Power* is onely in the *King*; (*Jura Majestatis, ac Imperii summam, in unius Principis Arbitrio versari.* Further,

Bodin. *de Rep.* lib. 2. cap. 5. *De Rep.* lib. 1. cap. 8. lib. 3. cap. 1. Ibid.

In Senatu nullum eſt Imperium; Nor onely ſo, but whoever urges the contrary, meditates a Commotion, *Iſti qui Imperium Senatûs tribuunt, Reipublicæ interitum, ac ſtatûs everſionem moliuntur.*

Pag. 51. *As to the point of Loyalty now in queſtion, the ſubverſion of the Fundamental Government of this Kingdom could not be effected, till thoſe Members of Parliament that were* Presbyterian, *were many of them impriſoned, others forcibly ſecluded by the violence of the Army, and the reſt thereupon withdrew from the Houſe of Commons.*

Obſervation. Then it ſeems till that violence by the Army, upon the Presbyterians, there was none acted by the Presbyterians upon the King. *To ſeize his Towns and Magazines; Hunt, and Aſſault his Royal Perſon; Part his Revenues; Hang up his Friends:* All this is Juſtifi'd, in Caſe his Majeſty refuſes to be rul'd by his Two Houſes. Alas, the *Fundamental Government* was ſafe, (I warrant ye) ſo long as the Rights of *Soveraignty* were exercis'd, firſt by the *Aſſembly* in *Scotland*, and then by a pack'd Party, *in a cloſe Committee:* And the Presbyterians never the leſs honeſt men for *ſelling* the King firſt; Then voting him a *Priſoner*; and after that, for Pinching him even upon the very Point of *Presbytery*. Surely they are much to blame that charge theſe Innocents with diſloyalty.

If the *Presbyterian Members had not been*

Forced,

Forced, (they say) *all had been well.* Truly it may be so; yet if I mistake not, there was a time when the *Episcopal Members* were Forced too; and had that Violence been spared, it had never come to This. But I suppose, the *City-Tumults* against BISHOPS: the *Outcries* of the *Rabble* at *White-hall*: the *Multitudes* that Baul'd for *Reformation*: Posting up such and such for *Straffordians*, as honestly opposed the Torrent of the People. This in the *Well-affected*, passes for *Christian Liberty.*

But our Author follows his Opinion with a Proof.

For they (says he, meaning the Presbyterians) *had voted the King's Concessions a Ground sufficient for the Houses to proceed to settle the Nation, and were willing to cast, whatever they Contended for, upon a Legal Security.* Page 51.

Waving their Former Vote of *Non-Addresses*, and that foul *Declaration* of their Reasons for it; We will in Charity believe, they were over-aw'd, and that it was extorted by the Army. But what excuse for the *Matter* of the *Propositions*? That they were actuated by a *Presbyterian Spirit*, appears in This, that they demanded a Settlement of a *Presbyterian Government.* It remains now onely from Hence, to gather the Fair Equivalence, of this Gentleman's Doctrine, and to discover what 'tis the Presbyterian Faction calls a *Legal Security.* Observation.

They

Presbyterian Positions.

They hold, That if the King of *England* will not comply with the Two Houses, the People may *Chase*, *Sequester*, and *Imprison* Him: And when they have him in Distress, they may without Disloyalty press Him to these, or the like Conditions for His Liberty.

1. *By a Publick Act to justifie that Violence, and condemn himself.*

2 ly. *To Renounce and Abolish Episcopacy, although bound by Oath and Judgment to defend it.*

3 ly. *To Transfer the Right of Levying Men and Monies, to the Two Houses; by them to be raised and disposed of at pleasure, without rendring any Accompt to his Majesty.*

4 ly. *To deliver up the Lives, Liberties, and Fortunes of all that served him, to the Mercy of that Party.*

5 ly. *To grant, that all Offices of Trust may be disposed of by the Appointment of Both Houses.*

This is a short, and modest Accompt of *Presbyterian Loyalty*, the *Due Liberty* they contend for: which being setled upon a *Legal Security*, with such further *Concessions*, as their Modesty shall vouchsafe to require, puts an end to the Dispute. His late Majesty observes

ſerves (*upon* Uxbridge-*Treaty*) That *it was a grand Maxim with them, always to ask ſomething, which in Reaſon and Honor muſt be denyed, that they might have ſome colour to refuſe all that was in other things granted.*] And ſo we find it. But what's the Reaſon of this peeviſhneſs?

Is there any thing in the Nature of Prelacy *that frames the mind to Obedience and Loyalty? Or is there any thing in Presbytery, that inclines to Rebellion and Diſobedience?* Page 52.

Truly I think there is. Prelacy holds a better proportion in the Scale of Order, as a more regular Subordination of Duties and Relations. Nature and Providence do not move by Leaps, but by Inſenſible and Soft Degrees, which give Stability and Beauty to the Univerſe. Is not the World compos'd of Diſagreements, Hot and Cold, Heavy and Light? ——— And yet we ſee thoſe Oppoſitions are by the means of middle, and Conciliating mixtures wrought into a Compliance? 'Tis the ſame caſe in *Subject* and *Superior*: *Higher* and *Lower*, betwixt *Top* and *Bottom*, are but as ſeveral Links of one providential Chain, where every Individual, by vertue of this mutual Dependency, Contributes to the Peace and Benefit of the Whole. Some are below me; and This ſweetens the Thought that I am below *Others*: By which Libration are prevented thoſe Diſtempers which ariſe either from the Affectation of more

Obſervation. Prelacy a more orderly Conſtitution than Presbytery.

more Power, or the Shame of having none at all.

As these *Degrees* of *Mean* and *Noble*, are beyond doubt of Absolute Necessity to Political Concord; so possibly the Closer the Remove, the better, yet, as to the point of Social expedience; provided, that the Distances be such as to avoid Confusion, and preserve Distinct Offices, and Powers from enterfering. Nor is this Gradual method onely suited to Humane Interest, as being most accommodate to publick Quiet, and to defend the Sacredness of Majesty from popular Distempers: But 'tis the very Rule which God himself Imposes upon the whole Creation: *Making of the same Lump, one Vessel to Honor, and another to Dishonor.* Subjecting by the Law of his own Will, *This* to *That*: *That* to what's next *above* it: *Both* to a *Further* Power, all to *Himself*. And here we rest: as at the Fountain of Authority. From *God*, *Kings* Reign; They appoint their *Substitutes*, and so on to inferior Delegations; *All Powers derive from a Divine Original.*

Rom. 9. 21.

This Orderly Gradation, which we find in Prelacy, must needs beget a Reverence to Authority; the Hierarchy it self depending upon a Principle of Obedience; whereas our Utopian Presbytery advances it self upon a Level of Confusion. It is a kind of Negative Faction, united to dissolve a laudable and setled frame of Government, that they may afterward set up they know not what. We may have learn'd thus much from late and sad

ſad experience. Let him that would know more of it, read the *Survey of pretended Holy Diſcipline.*

I think it would be hard to ſhew one eminent Presbyterian, that ſtickles not for an Ariſtocracy in the *State*, as well as in the *Church*: and he that ſaid, *No Biſhop, No King*, gave a ſhrewd judgment; not as implying a Princes abſolute dependance upon Biſhops, but in effect the King's Authority is wounded through the Church; the Reformation of what is amiſs, belonging to the *Ruler*, not to the *People*. I do not yet condemn all *Presbyters*, nor juſtifie all *Prelates*.

We are told, *That in antient times*, and for a *ſeries of many Ages*, *the Kings of* England *have had tedious conflicts with Prelates, in their Dominions.*] 'Tis Right, and the ſame cauſe is now eſpouſed by our more than ordinary Papal Presbyterians; to wit, Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction over the Civil Power. But we are further Queſtion'd. Page 53.

If Presbytery *and Rebellion be connatural, how comes it to paſs, that thoſe States or Kingdoms where it hath been eſtabliſhed or tollerated, have for any time been free from broils and commotions.* Page 53.

It is as true, that thoſe places have been quieteſt, where Presbytery hath gain'd footing, as 'tis, *that Presbyterians have never diſclaimed or abandoned their lawful Prince: that they* *Obſervation.* Ibid.

they have never ceased to solicite, and supplicate his Regards and Favours, even when their power hath been at the highest, and his stock lowest.

Observation. This is something which in good manners wants a name. How far the *Presbyterians* have *Abandon'd* their Prince, I shall not press, but rather refer the Reader to examine how far; and in what manner they have *Solicited* him. *(Cujus contrarium.)*

His late Majesty, after forty messages, for *Peace*, and a *Personal Treaty*, finding himself most barbarously laid aside; in a *Declaration from Carisbrook Castle*, Dated *Jan.* 18. 1647. Expostulates the matter in these Termes.

Reliquiæ sacræ Carolinæ. Page 158. *Now would I know, what it is that is desired: Is it* Peace *? I have shewed the way (being both willing and desirous to perform my part in it) which is, a just Compliance with all chief Interests. Is it* Plenty and Happiness *? They are the inseparable effects of Peace. Is it* Security *? I, who wish that all men would forgive and forget like Me, have offered the Militia for My time. Is it* Liberty of Conscience *? He who wants it, is most ready to give it. Is it the right* Administration of Justice *? Officers of trust are committed*

committed to the Choice of My two Houſes of Parliament. Is it frequent Parliaments? I have legally, fully concurr'd therewith. Is it the Arriers of the Army? Upon ſettlement, they will certainly be paid with much eaſe; but before, there will be found much difficulty, if not impoſſibility in it.

Thus all the world cannot but ſee My real, and unwearied endeavours for Peace, the which (by the grace of God) I ſhall neither repent me of, nor ever be ſlackned in: Notwithſtanding My paſt, preſent, or future ſufferings. But, If I may not be heard, let every one judge, who is it that obſtructs, the Good I would do, or might do.

Where the right lies, a *Presbyterian* may better *Determine* than a *Royaliſt Queſtion.*

——*Magno ſe judice quiſq; tuetur.*

Here's the Teſtimony of a *Pedant*, in Ballance againſt the Authority of a Prince.

He tells us by and by, that *Prophaneneſs*, *Intemperance*, *Revellings*, *Out-rages*, *and filthy lewdneſs were not at any time in the memory of the preſent age, held under more Reſtraint, than in the late diſtracted times, by means of a Practical Miniſtery.* Page 55.

Theſe

Observation. These Generals spell nothing, and to name Particulars were not so candid; I could else make up *Scot* and *Peters*, at least a score, even out of the select Tribe of the Reformers, (and these I think are not as yet Canoniz'd for Saints.)

'Tis no prophaneness (is it?) to play the Hocus Pocus in a Pulpit, with Rings and Bodkins; to talk Treason by Inspiration; and entitle the holy Ghost to Murther and Rebellion. To appoint Mock-Fasts, and thank God for Victories he never gave them. To swear for, and against the King, in the same breath. To convert Churches into Stables, and for fear of Superstition to commit Sacrilege.

Nor is it Out-rage sure, or Intemperance to seize the Patrimony of the Church, the King's Revenues; pillage and kill their fellow-Subjects. To set up Ordinances against setled Laws, and subject the Ten Commandements to the superior Vote of a Committee. To justifie Tumults against Authority, and suffer the most damnable Heresies to scape without reproof. But what if there were Disorders; by whom were they caused?

Page 59. *It is most unreasonable to object, that the late wild postures, extravagancies, and incongruities in Government, were the works of* Presbytery, *or* Presbyterians. *The Nation had never proof of* Presbytery, *for it was never setled, but rather decry'd, and expos'd to prejudice by those that were in sway, and that in the more early times of the late Wars.*

I

I must confess indeed, that *Presbytery* was never settled, nor ever likely to be, so much did the whole Nation stomach it; But yet how this agrees with his former Reasoning, *pag.* 29. I do not understand. There he pretends, that *by* * *long practise mens minds are sway'd in this opinion*: and that the Party is *numerous*. Here he contents himself to acknowledge, that the Presbyterians lost their power early, and that they never recovered it since. This will not serve his turn, to acquit the Faction (so denominated) of our late Miseries. Our Soveraign (of blessed memory) brings the contest down, *to his surprisal at* Holmby, *and the Distractions in the two Houses, the Army, and the City, ensuing upon it. These* (says that excellent Prince) *are but the strugglings of those Twins, which lately one Womb enclosed, the Younger striving to prevail against the Elder.* * *What the Presbyterians have hunted after, the Independents now seek to catch for themselves.*] In fine; One finish'd what the other began; for the King died at last, but of those wounds which he at first received in his Authority. *Observation.* * *Note.* * *Note.*

His Majesty, upon his leaving *Oxford*, and going to the *Scots*, clears this yet further: where he calls it, *Adventuring upon their Loyalty, who first began his troubles.*

The truth of this matter (says he) *is cleared* Page 58.

by a passage of our late Soveraign, in a Letto his Majesty that now is. [*All the lesser Factions were at first officious Servants to Presbytery their great Master, till time and Military success discovering to each other their particular advantages, invited them to part stakes, and leaving the joynt stock of uniform Religion, pretended each to drive for their party the trade of profits and preferments, to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State, but of Presbytery it self.* ——— (It follows) **which seem'd and hop'd at first to have engross'd all.**

Note.

Observation. The last line is as true as any of the rest; but all truths are not to be spoken. Indeed this Slip is somewhat with the grossest. Not to trouble my self with their formal Foppe-ries, of *Deacons*, *Elders*, and their *Parish-meetings*; Those are but popular amusements: We'll pass to what's more pertinent, and see how he acquits his friends of joyning with the Independents.

Page 60. *The truth is, Sectarianism grew up in a Mystery of Iniquity and State-policy, and it was not well discerned, till it became almost triumphant by Military successes.*

Observation. 'Tis a strange thing the Presbyterians should not see what they themselves contri-ved;

ved; what all others took notice of; and what the late King offered to prove, [*In his Declaration of* Auguſt *the* 12th 1642.] The Inſolence of Sectaries being not onely wink'd at, but publickly avow'd; and the Law thwarted to protect them. See what one ſays (no ſtranger to their practiſes) to prove, and evidence the Combination. *Exact Collections.* Pag. 531.

The Leading-men, *or* Grandees, *firſt divided themſelves into two* Factions *or* Juncto's, Presbyterians *and* Independents: *ſeeming to look onely at the* Church, *but they involv'd the Intereſts of the* Common-wealth.—— *Theſe having* ſeemingly divided themſelves, *and having* really divided the Houſes, *and captivated their reſpective Parties judgments.*—— *Teaching them by an implicite Faith*, Jurare in verba Magiſtri, *to pin their opinions upon their ſleeves: They begin to advance their projects of monopolizing the profits, preferments, and power of the Kingdom in themſelves. To which purpoſe, though the Leaders of each party ſeem to maintain a hot oppoſition, yet when any profit or preferment is to be reach'd at, it is obſerv'd, that a powerful Independent eſpecially, moves for a leading Presbyterian, or a leading Presbyterian for an Independent: And ſeldom doth one oppoſe or ſpeak againſt another, in ſuch Caſes, unleſs ſomewhat of particular Spleene or Competition come between: which cauſeth them to break the Common-rule. By this means, the Grandees of each Faction, ſeldom miſs their mark, ſince an Independent moving for a Presbyterian, his Reputation car-* *Hiſtory of Independency.* page 1. page 2.

ries the buſineſs clear with the Independent party: and the Presbyterians will not oppoſe a Leading man of their own ſide.

I find we are not like to Agree, for theſe people cannot ſee their own Faults, nor we their Virtues. I would take a good Journey to meet any man ſtiff in that way, that would but Confeſs he was ever in any error.

Page 63. *Of all the prejudices and ſcandals taken againſt this way, there is none greater than this, that it is repreſented as tyrannical and domineering, and that thoſe who live under it, muſt (like* Iſſachar *) crouch under the burdens.*

Obſervation. We do indeed account the Presbyterian Diſcipline very Tyrannical, and by and by we'l give our reaſons for it. Not *becauſe this Diſcipline cenſures Scandalous Diſorders* (as he inſinuates) but for that it ſubjects all Civil matters to a Conſiſtorian cogniſance, and rapt by an Impulſe of Paſſion, calls many things *Scandalous*, which meaſured by the rule of Piety and Reaſon, are found Praiſeworthy, and of laudable Example. The uſage of the Common-prayer-book is to *Them*, *Scandalous*, though ſetled by the Law: but to eject a Miniſter for reading it, though both without Law, and againſt it, That, *They* eſteem *no ſcandal*; *We*, *the contrary*.

I Have now brought the Gentleman to his firſt Stage, where I might very fairly leave him, for having already done my *buſineß*; what I do more, is but for *Company*. So far as I can judge, I have not ſcap'd one ſyllable material to his purpoſe: nor have I either broken his Periods, or unlink'd his Reaſonings, to puzzle, or avoid his meaning. How fairly I have dealt with what I have expos'd: whether in matter of *Fact*, *Deduction*, or *good Manners*, (the Subject of the Difference duely weighed) That I ſubmit to the Reader, and where the reaſon lies betwixt us.

I have indeed omitted a great part of the Debate, as not at all related to my Deſign, nor (to ſpeak freely) much to the point in Queſtion. His frequent and Rhetorical Raptures, extolling to the Heavens, the *Wiſdom* and *Sanctity* of the *Presbyterians*; (but above all, the *Legions* of the Saints) what does this florid vanity ſignifie more than the putting of his own Name to a fair Picture, when yet, for ought *he proves*, and for ought *we diſcern*, there's not one line betwixt them of Agreement.

The contrary courſe he takes with the *Prelatick party*. They (forſooth) are *Not* ſo and ſo: and from his *Generals*, There he is pleaſed to enter into *prohibited particulars*, taxing in *ſpecial* manner the exceſſes of ſome of our late Prelates: but without any inſtances of

ries the buſineſs clear with the Independent party: and the Presbyterians will not oppoſe a Leading man of their own ſide.

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good in the Other Party, which does but ſpitefully and weakly imply, that *Biſhops* have more *Faults*, than *Presbyterians* have *Virtues*. It will not be now expected, that we that *differ* in the *Premiſes*, ſhould agree in the *Concluſion*. But for that we'll take our Fortunes.

Page 65. *Upon the whole matter aforegoing, we firmly build this Poſition:*

That the Presbyterian Party ought not in Juſtice or Reaſon of State, to be rejected and depreſſed, but ought to be protected and encouraged.

Page 66. (This is but one Doctor's opinion; *we* think *otherwiſe.*) *Nevertheleſs* (ſays he) *there being a ſeeming complication in this buſineſs, and an other ample Party appearing in competition, a difficulty remains, and the matter falls into a further deliberation. And thereupon we are fallen upon the ſecond Main Enquiry.*

II. Queſt. *Whether the Presbyterian Party may be protected and encouraged, and the Epiſcopal not deſerted nor diſobliged.*

Obſervation. 'Tis a particular Grace, that the *Biſhops* Party may yet be admitted into the Competition, and that the man of the *ſhort Robe* will vouchſafe to enquire into the *Conſiſtence* of

of *Episcopacy* and *Presbytery*: yet it was boldly ventur'd to Determine what *Ought* to be done before he had examin'd, whether the Thing was *Fesible* or no.

I shall not spend my Time to Controvert *Idea's*, and wrangle about Governments in the Air: we are for Plain and Practicable Contrivements, such as *Authority*, *Good Order*, and *Long Experience* have recommended to us.

I suppose the agreeing of *Both Parties* in such *Middle terms* as he proposes, a thing not utterly Impossible. Many things may be fair enough in *Notion*, yet of exceeding hazzard to be put in *Practice*; especially 'tis dangerous to try Tricks with Politick Constitutions. Great alterations are scarce safe, even where they are *Lawful*, and wrought with *good Intention*: Much less are those so, which are promoted by a Disorderly, and Popular Earnestness, and with *seditious meaning*. For this I dare lay down as a *Position*: *Never did any Private Party band against a Publick Settlement, with an intent to mend it.*

But what have we to do with the Imaginary *Coalition* of the two Church-Parties; when the Kirk-Discipline affronts the Civil Sanction, and Actually invades the Kings Authority? Let them first bring their Principles to their Duties, Treating like Subjects, and Submitting as Christians. Can any man believe those People Friends to the Church, that are Enemies to the State: or that the God of Order can be pleased with

the Promoters of Confusion?

Were there no other reason to deny the thing they ask, than their bare manner of Asking; it ought not to be Granted. What signifies their talk of *Number*, *Power*, *Resolution*, but a false Muster of the Faction, to make a party with the Rabble? when yet, God knows, they're Inconsiderable: let every man but over-look his Neighbour, and Count, he'l find the Disproportion. Undoubtedly the most Insufferable of all their Arguments is that of *Danger*; there's but one step between that Word and Violence. First, it implies a Seditious Complication. They move for such as they believe will Tumult: if not, where lies the Hazzard? Besides, those Subjects that dare tell their Prince, 'tis *dangerous* to deny their Askings, do by that insolence render his Concessions much more *hazzardous*. *Persons of that audacious temper, will hardly make a sober use of an extorted Bounty.*

So far as *Presbyterian*, and *Episcopal*, purely refer to the *Church*, I shall not much concern my self in Our Resolvers *Second main Enquiry*: (Equal to all the World is the Incomparable *Hooker*, upon that Subject) but where these terms are in a greater Latitude, applyed to Civil matters, I shall be bold to pass some further Observations.

Page 70. *The Dissenting side oppose not all Liturgy, but desire that the present form may be Changd, or reformed.*

That's

That's but a modeſt Motion. But now ſuppoſe his *Majeſty*, the *Law*, and Forty for One of the *Nation*, ſhould deſire the Continuance of it as it is: what Equity have the Diſſenters to the Change; or what would be the Benefit if Granted? Not the Tenth part even of the Presbyterians, would be contented with it. Some of them are againſt all ſet-Forms of Common-prayer whatever; Others (more moderate forſooth) do not oppoſe a *preſcript Form*, ſo it be not *enjoyn'd*. A third ſort, will vouchſafe to permit the *Engliſh Liturgy*, provided they may have the purgeing of it themſelves. And when all's done, the Sectaries may claim as much right to *aboliſh* That, as they to *alter* This. And now for Ceremonies. *Obſervation.*

They oppoſe not any Circumſtance of Decency and Order, but deſire, that myſtical Ceremonies of humane Inſtitution, may be aboliſhed or not enjoyned. Page 70.

Firſt, the Diſſenters are not the Judges of *Decency* and *Order*; and for *Myſtical Ceremonies of humane Inſtitution*; (as *Scaliger* ſays of the *Sepia*) *Caliginem effundit, & evadit*; He troubles the Water, and eſcapes in the Dark. *Obſervation.*

Multiformity in Religion (ſays our Reconciler, pleading for Accommodation) *publickly profeſs'd, doth not well comport with the ſpirit of this Nation, which is free, eager, jealous,* Page 73.

apt

apt to animosities and jealousies, besides that it hath ever had a strong propension to Uniformity.

Observation. Had this fallen from a Common pen, I could have better born the Disproportion of his Character of the English Temper,—*Free, Eager, Jealous*, and yet propense to *Uniformity*. This seems to me a mixture incompossible. But the good man means well, and writes so, when he lists. His drift is, to perswade us, that to comply with the *Presbytery*, is to comport with the *Spirit of this Nation*: which being *Free* and *Eager*, seems to Cry, *Beware*. How blessedly would these *Free-spirited* Worthies order their Subjects, if they were once in power, that thus presume from their own Level, to Menace and Control Authority.

If *Toleration* might compose the Difference, there were some hope; but That, alas, is more than they can afford the *Government*, and much less will they accept it for *themselves*.

Page 47. *The temper of this Kingdom* (says he) *does not well accord with extremes on either hand*;] and to see the fortune of it, the Presbyterians are just in the *Middle*.

Ibid. *Toleration being not the Daughter of Amity, but of Enmity, (at least) in some degree supposeth the party tolerated to be a burden, especially if conceived dangerous to the way established, and commonly holds no longer than meer necessity compels; and consequently neither*

ther party take themſelves to be ſafe, the one always fearing to loſe its Authority, and the other its Liberty.

Behold a *learned* Expoſtulation, and a *dutiful*. [*Where the party toelrated appears dangerous to the way eſtabliſhed: the one fears to loſe its Authority, and the other its Liberty.*] There's no great depth in the diſcovery, that from an Opinion of *mutual Danger*, ariſes *mutual Jealouſie*. But what's this caſe to the Subject of our Debate? *Obſervation.*

By Toleration is not meant an Imprudential Yielding to an Untractable, and Churliſh Faction: but a diſcreet and pious Application of Tenderneſs toward ſuch as by their Fair Comportment in the Main of Order, and good Manners, appear to merit it. True it is, God himſelf is the onely Searcher of Hearts, who ſees our Thoughts, even in the bed of their Conception. Yet where we find an inconformity of practiſe to profeſſion: people *that ſtrein at a Gnat, and ſwallow a Camel*, We may without offence to Charity, rank thoſe incongruous Chriſtians amongſt *Hypocrites:* and with great Juſtice hold them to the Law, that ſtrive to bring the Law down to their humors. By the ſame rule ought we to judge in favour of their Scruples, whoſe Lives are ſquar'd by a conform ſeverity and ſtrictneſs. *Toleration.*

It is moſt true, that *ſuch Propoſals may ſuffice for Peace, which will not ſatisfie Humor and Faction, and Carnal Intereſt.*] Why do we Page 76.

not

not apply our ſelves then to the onely Umpire of the Controverſie, the ſetled Law, which without either paſſion or Deſign, lays down our Duty, and our Intereſts? Theſe wranglings about Trifles do but enflame the Difference, and ſtart new Animoſities, inſtead of quieting the Old. The great pretence of Scandal (forſooth) is This.

Page 84. *The Presbyterians ſtick at Ceremonies properly Sacred, and ſignificant by humane inſtitution, which they conceive to be more than meer Circumſtances, even parts of Worſhip; and whatſoever inſtituted Worſhip is not ordained of God, they hold unlawful.*

Obſervation. This paſſage lies a little out of my Rode, but however, I'le make it my way. It is much eaſier to *call* our Ceremonies *Sacred*, and *parts of Worſhip*, than to *prove* them ſuch; or that we underſtand them ſo. Is the *manner* of doing any thing, part of the thing done? And for *ſignificant by humane Inſtitution*] the Exception is as frivolous. Becauſe that in *ſome* Caſes even of External Diſcipline, the Church is *limited*, does it therefore follow that it is *free* in none? or ty'd up onely to ſuch Rites and Ceremonies, as hold no ſignal proportion with the reaſon of their Inſtitution? This Argument cuts their own Throats, ſince by the ſignificancy of the *Sitting poſture* at the Communion, they maintain the Uſe of it; for (ſay their *Admonitioners*) *It* RETOKENS *Reſt, and full Accompliſhment of Legal Ceremonies in Chriſt.* They

They that ſcruple our myſtical ſignificant Ceremonies, conceive that they are properly and meerly ſacred, as having the honor of God for their direct and immediate end. Page 86.

Theſe Reaſons are but *Snares* for *Woodcocks*. That the ultimate end of all our Actions is, or at leaſt ought to be) *the Honor of God*, admits no Queſtion; but 'tis not therefore the *Immediate end* of every thing we do, nor in particular of *Ceremonies*. The Outward Forms and Rites of publick Worſhip, direct partly to *Uniformity* and *Order*; and partly to excite due *Reverence* and *Affection* in the diſcharge of holy Duties, by ſenſible Actions, and remarkable Circumſtances. But he perſues his Error; and Inſtances, *Obſerv. Significant Ceremonies not ſacred.*

That the Surplice is not for gravity, nor meerly for decent diſtinction, but a religious myſtical Habit, the character or badge of a Sacred Office, or Service conformable to the linnen Ephod under the Law. Ibid.

The grand Exception againſt the Surplice is matter of Scandal, and that amounts to nothing, where people will be peeviſh, and carp at every thing. Allow it what Original he pleaſes: If it be neither Unlawful in it ſelf: nor wickedly applyed; and by Authority thought fit to be Impoſed; why ſhould it not be uſed? What ſays the Incomparable *Hooker*, in this point? [*To ſolemn Actions of Royalty, and* *Obſervation.* *Eccleſiaſt. polit.* lib. 5. Sect. 29.

Eccleſiaſt. polity lib. 5. Sect. 12.

and State, their ſuitable Ornaments are a Beauty; are they onely in Religion a ſteyn?] And in another Place.

The names of our Months, and of our Days, we are not ignorant from whence they came, and with what diſhonor unto God they are ſaid to have been deviſed at the firſt. What could be ſpoken againſt any thing more effectual to ſtir hatred, then that which ſometimes the antient Fathers in this caſe ſpake? Yet thoſe very names are at this day in uſe throughout Chriſtendom, without hurt or ſcandal to any. Clear and manifeſt it is, that things deviſed by Hereticks, yea, deviſed of a very Heretical purpoſe, even againſt Religion, and at their firſt deviſing worthy to have been withſtood, may in time grow meet to be kept; as that cuſtome, the Inventers whereof were the * Eunomian Hereticks. *So that Cuſtoms once eſtabliſhed, and confirmed by uſe, being preſently without harm, are not in regard of their Corrupt original, to be held ſcandalous. But concerning thoſe Ceremonies, which they reckon for moſt Popiſh, they are not able to avouch, that any of them was otherwiſe inſtituted, than unto good; yea, ſo uſed at the firſt.*]

* The Eunomian Hereticks in diſhonor of the bleſſed Trinity, brought in the laying on of water but once, to croſs the cuſtom of the Chur. which in Baptiſm did it thrice.

Page 87.

The ſigning with the ſign of the Croſs (they conceive) is more evidently ſacred than the former. As Baptiſm conſecrates the child, ſo doth the Croſs. It is uſed as a ſealing ſign of our Obligation to Chriſt, as the words uſed in the Application thereof do manifeſt, and the Book of Canons doth declare expreſly, which ſaith,

ſaith, [That it is an honorable badge, whereby the Infant is dedicated to the ſervice of him that died on the Croſs, as by the words uſed in the Book of Common-prayer it may appear.] *And therefore it is in that reſpect Sacramental.*

'Tis a well nurtur'd child that gives his Mother the Lye: and it is little better, to charge this ſenſe upon the Church of *England*, when by the very letter of the Canon, an expreſs care is taken to prevent all poſſibility of exception, by a clear explication of the Churches judgment in that particular. The Juggle is ſo groſs, I need but cite the Canon to confute it. *Obſervation.*

Firſt, *The Church of* England, *ſince the aboliſhing of Popery, hath ever held and taught, and ſo doth hold and teach ſtill, that the ſign of the Croſs uſed in Baptiſm, is no part of the ſubſtance of that Sacrament; for when the Miniſter dipping the Infant in water, or laying water upon the face of it (as the manner alſo is) hath pronounced theſe words*, I Baptize thee in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghoſt, *the Infant is fully and perfectly Baptized. So as the ſign of the Croſs being afterwards uſed, doth neither add any thing to the vertue or perfection of Baptiſm; nor being omitted doth detract any thing from the effect and ſubſtance of it.* Can. 30.

Secondly, *It is apparent in the Communion Book, that the Infant Baptized is by vertue of Baptiſm, before it be ſigned with the ſign of the*

the Croſs, received into the Congregation of Chriſts Flock, as a perfect Member thereof, and not by any power aſcribed unto the ſign of the Croſs; ſo that for the very remembrance of the Croſs, which is very precious to all them that rightly believe in Jeſus Chriſt, and in the other reſpect mentioned: The Church of England *hath retained ſtill the ſign in Baptiſm, following therein the Primitive and Apoſtolical Churches, and accounting it a lawful outward Ceremony, and honorable Badge, whereby the Infant is dedicated to the ſervice of him that died upon the Croſs, as by the words uſed in the Book of Common-prayer it may appear.*]

If this will not ſuffice to prove, that nothing *Sacramental* is intended by it, let it be noted, that in *private Baptiſm the Croſs is totally omitted.*

Eccleſ. polit. lib. 5. Sect. 71. His next exception is at *Holy-days*: But I ſhall paſs my bounds too far. I'll borrow one Maxim of the judicious *Hooker*, (upon that ſubject) which ſhall ſerve for all. *Thoſe things which the Law of God leaveth Arbitrary, and at liberty, are all ſubject unto poſitive Laws of men: which Laws, for the common benefit, abridge particular mens libertie in ſuch things, as far as the rules of equity will ſuffer.*

After the *Quality* of our Ceremonies, the holy man will have one fling at the *number* of them.

Page 88. *If the* Engliſh *Ceremonies be warrantably uſed,*

used, what hinders the use of divers other Ceremonies used in the Roman Church? Is it said, their multitude will become burthensome and inconvenient? But who can determine the convenient number? And however, an exchange of one Ceremony for another were not unlawful. For what reason may not some other Romish Rites in Baptism be used as well as the Cross, seeing they are nothing less significant or inoffensive; nay, peradventure much more inoffensive, because the Papists by giving divine worship to the Cross, have abused it to gross Idolatry.

Beggars must be no choosers: Must we use all, or none? The English Church hath made election of the English Ceremonies; *what*, and *how many*: being the proper Judge both in the point of *Number* and *Convenience*. 'Tis not for us to Question the Authority, but to Obey it. *What if the Cross hath been abused?* So hath the *Knee* been bent; the *Hands* and *Eyes* addressed to an Idol. Are we, because of this mis-application, prohibited to worship the true God, in the same manner, and posture? Now to the *Liturgy* again. *Observation.*

The Presbyterians are not satisfied in the present Liturgy, but desire it may be laid aside, or much reformed. And what solid reason withstands the Equity of this desire? Page 96.

This solid reason does withstand it. They beg like sturdy Cripples, for *Christ's sake*, with a Cudgel. *Observation.*

Cudgel. And 'tis not safe for *Authority* to give ground to a *Faction*.

Page 91. *Whosoever observes impartially, shall find, that political prudence was joyn'd with Christian Piety, in composing the English Service-Book.*]

Observation. And the same *Prudence* is now joyn'd with the same *Piety*, both in the Right, and Interest of preserving it. His next grief is a heavy one.

Page 94. *Canonical Subscription lately impos'd, is a yoke of bondage,* (Now mark him) *to be considered by all those that have a true regard to such Liberty in Religion, as Equity and Necessity pleads for.*

Observation. Either this passage is *seditious*, and to enflame the people against Authority, or I am no *Englishman*.

The Canon (says he) *requires a subscribing to the thirty nine Articles; to the Common-*
Page 95. *Prayer-Book; to the Book of ordering Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; that all these contain in*
Can. 36. *them nothing contrary to the Word of God. This is* unreasonable, unprofitable, and unnecessary. Nay, let us take in the third Article too, —— To wit, [*That the nine and thirty Articles are agreeable to the Word of God.*] And now the form of *Subscription*, viz. [*I do willingly, and* ex animo, *subscribe to these three Articles*

Articles above mentioned, and to all things that are contained in them.

This is the *Yoke of Bondage*, which our Reverend Libertine complains of. First, to the *unreasonableneſs* of this ſubſcription. *Obſerv.*

Touching the *King's Supremacy*, aſſerted in the firſt Article, he is ſilent; and I ſuppoſe he would be thought conſenting. As to the reſt, what *Reaſon* is there that any man ſhould be admitted into the *Miniſtery*, without ſubſcribing to the Conſtitution of that Church, into which he ſeeks admitance?

If he cannot ſubſcribe in *Conſcience*, he cannot be admitted in *Prudence*: and if he refuſes in point of ſtomach, that man is not of a Goſpel-temper. In fine, he that holds a fair opinion of the *Doctrine*, and *Diſcipline* of the Church of *England*, may very *reaſonably* ſet his hand to his opinion: and he that does not, may as *reaſonably* be rejected becauſe of ſuch diſagreement. So much for *unreaſonable*; Neither is it *unprofitable*: for ſuch as have any ſpark, either of Honor, or Shame, will in regard to ſuch a Teſtimony, be tender of giving themſelves the Lye, whatever they would do otherwiſe. *Canonical ſubſcription defended.*

His third Cavil is, that it is *unneceſſary*; (ſo are his Exceptions.) Let any man conſider; when all theſe Bars and Limits are too little to reſtrain turbulent and ſacrilegious ſpirits from dangerous and irreverent attempts: what Seas of *Schiſm* and *Hereſie* would break in upon us, were but theſe Banks

Page 97. demoliſh'd. But he hath found out an expedient, how [*Unity in Doctrine, and Uniformity in practiſe, may be as well attain'd, and far more kindly, without this enforced Subſcription:* (that is) *If no Miniſter be ſuffered to Preach, or Write, any thing contrary to the eſtabliſh'd Doctrine, Worſhip, or Diſcipline, nor ordinarily for the main to neglect the eſtabliſh'd Rule.*]

Obſervation. This laſt paſſage appears to me moſt ſpitefully pleaſant. *Not ordinarily for the main*, that is; *Always ſometimes he would neglect the eſtabliſh'd Rule.*

If the Laws already in force againſt *Revolters*, had been duly executed, 'tis likely *the Intereſt of* England, *in the matter of Religion*, had not been now the Queſtion. But ſtill this ſuppoſition does not imply an abſolute ſufficiency of that ſtrictneſs to all intents and purpoſes of Order and Agreement. 'Tis what we *Think*, not what we *Say*; the harmony of *Souls*, more then of *Forms*, which God regards: without that ſacred, and entire conſent of Judgment, and Affections, the reſt is but a flat, and cold formality.

Not to act contrary to preſcribed Rules, (where we are bound up by a Penalty) is but a Negative and Paſſive Obedience; a compliance rather with Convenience, than Duty, unleſs joyn'd with a prone, and full aſſent, both

both to the truth and equity of those determinations. For these and many reasons more, *Canonical subscription* seems to me exceeding necessary. But for those people to decline it, (upon pretence forsooth of Conscience) that upon pain of Freedom, and Estates, nay, and of Hell it self, enforced the *Covenant*, is most unequal.

A Presbyterian Preacher, * *refused to pray for Sir* William Nesbett, *late Provost of* Edenburgh, *when he was lying upon his Death-bed, onely because he had not subscribed the Covenant.* Let me be pardoned, if I understand not this incongruous Holiness.

* *The late Kings Declaration concerning* Scotland, Page 403.

As for the Decrees and Canons of the Church, what rightful Authority doth make them, as the Law of the Medes *and* Persians *that altereth not?* Page 101.

Surely his Reverence over-shoots himself. *What rightful Authority?* The Kings: and by a less Authority they cannot be discharged. By that *Authority*, that Licenses (x) the *Excommunication of the Impugners of the Rites and Ceremonies established in the Church of England:* —— the (y) Opposers also of the Government, by *Arch-bishops, Bishops, &c.* —— By *that Authority*, to which this Gentleman hath forfeited the Head he wears. Well, but he tells us, *Observation.*

x] *Can. 6.*

y] *Can. 7.*

The publick state of these differences is such, that the Prelatists may, and ought to descend Page 93.

to the Presbyterians, in the proposed moderate way; but the Presbyterians cannot come up to the Prelatists in the height of their way.

Observation. *With the King's leave*, had been good Manners yet. By what Authority, does Presbytery pretend to unseat the Hierarchy? All the world knows, (as much as they know any thing of that Antiquity) that Bishops are of Apostolical Extraction: and we are not to Imagine, that They died intestate, and their Commission with them. But Bishops have *descended* already, and what was the event of it? Truly it was as moderate an Episcopacy as heart could wish: But, as I remember, their Revenues were not employed to maintain a practical Ministery. The Rule is, —— *Si vis scire an velim, effice ut possim nolle.* But see the moderation of the Man.

Page 103. *Some change* (he says) *in the outward Form, and Ceremonies, which are but a Garb, or Dress, is no Real Change of the Worship.*

Observation. I thought we had differ'd upon point of *Conscience*, about *[*Ceremonies properly sacred,* —— *and parts of Worship.*] But now it seems 'tis but the *Garb*, or *Dress* we stick at. The good-man has forgot himself; And yet we had best be wary, for 'tis but an untoward hint he gives us.

* Pa. 84.

Page 103. *Oftentimes* (says he) *moderate Reformations do prevent Abolitions, and Extirpations.*]

They

They do ſo, often, and ſometimes they cauſe them: that is, Be the State never ſo diſtemper'd, where Subjects turn Reformers, the Remedy is worſe than the Diſeaſe. In fine, when I look back, I find the very ſame deſires of Reformation originally pretended; which (after ſuch deſcenſions as never any Prince before the bleſſed Father of our Gracious Soveraign, made to his Subjects) proceeded yet to utter *extirpation*, *Root*, and *Branch*. *Obſervation.*

The preſent face of things looks ſo like Twenty years ago, I cannot chooſe but fear the ſame Deſign from the ſame Method; the ſame Effects from the ſame Cauſes. *Is not that likely to be a bleſſed Reformation, where Faction dictates, and Tumults execute?* But our *Pacifick Moderator* is of another Temper ſure; he onely adviſes a Yielding, for fear of worſe: eſpecially conſidering,

That the Party called Presbyterian may be Protected, and Encouraged, and the Epiſcopal not Deſerted nor Diſobliged. which is his Reſolution *upon the Second Quere* Page 111.

Presbyterian Improvements are commonly a little *Siniſter*; (or, as a man may ſay, *over the left ſhoulder*) They have ſomething an odd way of making *a glorious King, and a* *Obſervation.*

happy People. But we ſhall not diſpute the *poſſibility* of doing many things which may be yet of dangerous Experiment. I do believe it poſſible for a man to *flie*; yet ſet him upon *Pauls*, and Lure him down, upon the Trial, 'tis at leaſt Six to Four he breaks his Neck. Truly in my Opinion, this Propoſal is all out as Impracticable. But 'tis all one to *Me*. What if the Two Church-parties, can Agree, or what if they Cannot? My buſineſs is to keep the Presbyterian from laying Violent hands upon the *Civil Power*, and to convince a Party ſo denominated, of *Sedition*, not of *Schiſm*.

His third Enquiry follows.

Page 111. Qu. III. *whether the upholding of both Parties by a juſt and equal Accommodation, be not in it ſelf more deſirable, and more agreeable to the State of* England, *than the abſolute exalting of one Party, and the total ſubverſion of the other?* (And thus he Reaſons.

That State of Prelacy which cannot ſtand without the ſubverſion of the Presbyterians, and that ſtands in oppoſition to regulated Epiſcopacy, will become a myſtery of a meer carnal and worldly ſtate, under a ſacred title, and venerable name of our mother the Church. For in ſuch oppoſition, of what will it be made up, but of

Lordly

Lordly revenue, dignity, ſplendor, and juriſdiction, with outward eaſe and pleaſure! What will its deſign be from age to age, but to uphold and advance his own pomp and potency? Read the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories, and you ſhall find the great buſineſs of the Hierarchy hath been to conteſt with Princes and Nobles, and all ranks and degrees, about their Immunities, Privileges, preheminences, to multiply Conſtitutions and Ceremonies for props to their own Greatneſs, but not to promote the ſpiritual Kingdom of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in the hearts of People, according to the life and power of Chriſtianity.

Let this ſerve for a taſte of his Pedantique boldneſs. Whether the *Scandal*, or the *Danger* of theſe *Liberties* is the Greater, may be One Queſtion: and whether the Uſurper of this Freedom is the better *Subject*, or *Chriſtian*, may be another. If we reſpect the holy *Order* of *Biſhops*, together with the ſacred Authority of *Law*, by which they are here eſtabliſhed, how ſcandalous and irrevérend is this Invective! Or if the unſetled humor of the *People*, how *Dangerous!* If we reflect either upon *Chriſtian unity*, or *Political Obedience*: how inconſiſtent is this manner of proceeding, with what we owe to God, and the King! Obſervation.

That State of Prelacy, which cannot ſtand without the ſubverſion of the Presbyterians, &c. —— 'Tis very well; —— And why the ſubverſion of the Presbyterians? How thoſe that never were *Up*, ſhould be thrown down, I cannot imagine. By what *Law*, or by what *Equity*,

Equity, do these people pretend to any Interest of Establishment in *England*? Those of the Presbyterian judgment, that out of a real tenderness cannot comply in all particulars, will beyond doubt receive from his Majesty such Favour and Indulgence, as may abundantly suffice to their relief. But that pretence doth not one jot entitle them to challenge a further influence upon the Government. These wayward Appetites and Cravings, are but the sickly longings of a peevish Woman: A kind of voluntary and privileged Conscience they have, which if it happens to take a fancy even to the *Crown*, *Monarchy* it self must rather perish, than these poor Wretches lose their longings. Soberly I would advise them by any means, to waive these troublesome and groundless pretences. It starts a scurvy Question, and makes men ask, *how these people came by the right they challenge*? For the rest; Episcopacy is like to be well ordered, when the Presbyterians have the Regulation of it.

A voluntary Conscience.

There have been great contests (no question) mov'd by the *Hierarchy*; but I suppose this Gentleman will not instance in many, since the Reformation, derogatory to the Jurisdiction Royal: Whereas the whole course of the Presbyterian Discipline hath been Tumultuous; and their avowed Principles are more destructive to Royalty, than even the Rankest of the Jesuites themselves.

Having at length Talk'd his Fill against the Pomp of *Prelacy*, and Charg'd the arro-

gance

gance of *Presbyters* upon the *Bishops*: Thus he Concludes,

In very deed, the State here described, will never stand safely among a people that are Free, Serious, Searching, and Discerning in matters of Religion.] Which to the Many, founds thus much. Pa. 114.

This is the pride and Tyranny of Bishops: and none but a Slavish and Besotted people will endure it. He that makes other of it, forces it. Having by the spirit of natural Divination foretold the Effects which he himself intends to Cause; he gives this Hint to the Vulgar, that [*a Hierarchy of this Nature hath a strong bias toward Popery.*] Observ. Ibid.

No doubt, and so had *Monarchy*. Was not this Imputation, by the same Party, cast upon the late King, and with the same measure of Confidence and Bitterness? when yet we know, that those that charged him with it, did not believe themselves; it was so rank, and evident a Calumny. Nor to insist upon the Dying Testimony of that Incomparable Prince; (which was but suitable to the Pious Practise and Profession of his whole Life) That early *Protestation of his Majesties, before his receiving of the holy Eucharist at* Christ-Church *in* Oxon, 1643. will be more pertinent to my purpose. Observ.

His Majesty being to receive the Sacrament from the hands of the Lord Arch-bishop of Armagh, Bibliotheca Regia, p. 58.

Armagh, *uſed theſe publick Expreſſions immediately before his receiving the bleſſed Elements, he roſe up from his Knees, and beckning to the Arch-biſhop for a ſhort forbearance, made this Proteſtation.*

My Lord,

His Majeſty's Proteſtation.

I Eſpy here many reſolved Proteſtants, who may declare to the world the Reſolution I now do make. I have to the utmoſt of my power prepared my Soul to become a worthy Receiver; and may I ſo receive Comfort by the Bleſſed Sacrament, as I do intend the Eſtabliſhment of the true reformed Proteſtant Religion, as it ſtood in its Beauty in the happy days of Queen Elizabeth, *without any Connivence at Popery. I bleſs God, that in the midſt of theſe publick Diſtractions, I have ſtill Liberty to Communicate; and may this Sacrament be my Damnation, if my* Heart *do not joyn with My* Lips *in this* Proteſtation.

This was not yet enough to allay the clamour, till with his *Royal Blood* he had ſeal'd this Proteſtation.

If the Objector can produce a fouler Injury, either to *Religion*, *Duty*, *Truth*, *Honor*, or *Humanity*, let it be done, to ſave the credit of the Faction, unleſs they reckon the Superlative

lative perfection of their wickedneſs, a point of Glory.

His next remark is not amiſs. [*Let it be well obſerv'd, that the deſigns of ſuppreſſing Puritans, and complying with Papiſts, had their beginning both at once, and proceeded in equal paces.* page 115.

Let it be here as well obſerv'd, that if by *Puritans* be meant thoſe of the Separation, by *Papiſts* is intended ſuch as kept their Stations: Theſe Squires of the *Revolt*, eſteeming as Anti-chriſtian, whatever ſtands in oppoſition to their heady purpoſes. We have this both from Story and Experience, that it hath been the conſtant practiſe of theſe unmannerly *Apoſtates, to ſpeak evil of Dignities*; & being fall'n off themſelves, it is but carnal prudence, by damning of the *Authority* to juſtifie the *Schiſm*. No wonder then, *if the deſigns of ſuppreſſing Puritans, and complying with Papiſts, had* (in his ſenſe) *the ſame beginning, and proceeded in equal paces.* Obſervation.

To bring himſelf off, he ſhifts it thus. [*According to a vulgar ſenſe, we take Popery in the height thereof, for the* Hereſies *and* Idolatries; *and in the lower degree thereof, for the groſs* Errors *and* Superſtitions *of the Church of* Rome.] And 'tis againſt Engliſh Popery in the *lower degree*, that he plants his battery: arguing ſo formally againſt our going over to *Rome*, that any Stranger to the Story would ſwear,—The *Prelates* and the *Pope* were more then half agreed already. Page 116.

Having

Having at length with great good-will advi-
Pag. 120. sed the Church of *England* as to the Main, he concludes, that [*All approaches and motions towards* Rome *are dangerous.*]

Observation.

But are not all recesses from Truth, more dangerous: Because in *every* thing we cannot agree with them, must we in *nothing*? To me this appears rather petulancy, then pious reason. We are to hold fast the Truth, wherever it lyes: and to embrace what's good, and laudable in any Church, without adhering to the contrary. Did not St. *Paul become all things to all men, that by all means he might gain some*?

Pag. 120.

But *if we walk upon the Brink* (he tells us) *we may soon fall into the Pit.*) These wary men forget, that there's a *Gulf* on the one hand, as well as a *Pit* on the other: and that the *narrow way* is that which leads to eternal happiness.

Ibid.

But as to Reason of State (he says that) *enmity with* Rome, *hath been reputed the Stability of* England; *concerning which the Duke of* Rhoan *hath delivered this Maxime*; [*That besides the Interest which the King of* England *hath common with all Princes, he hath yet one particular, which is, that he ought throughly to acquire the advancement of the Protestant Religion, even with as much zeal as the King of* Spain *appears Protector of the Catholick.*

Allow

Allow this Maxime good in State, it hath but found a Rod to whip himself. *The King of* England *ought to advance the* Protestant *Religion.*] Content. What now if these Disciplinarians prove no Protestants? but rather a *Schismatical*, and dividing Party, driving an Interest of their own, under that specious name, and with great shew of Holiness, opposing not only the practises and Rules of the *Reformed Churches*, but even the fundamentals of *Christianity* it self? By whom will they be tryed, or on what Judgement, and Authority will they rest? They quarrel with the *Order* of *Bishops*; the *Common-Prayer*; the *Rites* and *Ceremonies* of the *Church*; the *Law* of the Land, with *Customes*, and *Antiquity*: In short, with every thing but the *Geneva Discipline*. They do by *That* too, as our Gallants do by *French-fashions*. The Court of *France* being the Standard of queint *Mode* and *Dress*; to the *one*, as is *Geneva* of *Church order* to the *other*: What is *there* used, though in it self extravagant enough, our humour is to over-do; and if the *French* wear but wide *Breeches*, we forsooth must wear *Petticoats*. Consult the learned and most eminent Asserters of their *Discipline*; ask the grand Architect himself, or indeed, any of his *Sectators*, (of fair and honourable credit) concerning the Subject of our present Controversie. And

Observation. English & Scotch Presbyterians no Protestants.

**I. *Whether it be a* Protestant *opinion, that the* Hierarchy *is* Antichristian?

II. *Whe-*

II. *Whether such Laws of Humane Institution, as neither contradict the* general Laws of Nature, nor any Positive Law in Scripture, be binding or no?

III. *In case of Male-Administration, either in Church, or State: Whether the People may take upon them to Reform?*

But this they are not so stiff in, as to maintain it, but by blind inferences not worth regard.

This is the State of our dispute; and if in these particulars our *Anti-prelatists* oppose the current of Reformed Divines: to advance their Interest, is to undermine the common Interest of the *King*, *Nation*, and the *Protestant* Cause. Needs must it move many *Revolts*, and keep off many *Proselytes*, to see such principles declared of the Essence of *Christian Religion*, as a good honest *Pagan* would be ashamed of. Nor less repugnant are they to Rules of *Society*, than of *Conscience*; *No Tyranny so cruel and Imperious; no Slavery so reprochful.* Set up their *Discipline*, and we're at *School* again. Methinks I see a *Presbyter* with his *Rod* over every *Parish*; and the whole Nation turning up their Tails to a pack of *Pedants*. Yet hateful as it is, *even that* it self, establish'd by Authority, might challenge our Obedience.

I have digress'd too far; yet in convenient place, I must say something further upon this Subject.

If

If our new fangled *Politician* had consider'd, that the *Kings* Interest leads him to support, that which the *Presbyterians* strive to *overthrow*, (the Protestant Religion) I am perswaded he would have spared the Duke of *Rhoan* in this particular. The *Maxime* even as it lies before us, affording matter of dangerous Deduction to his disadvantage: but taken in *Coherence*, nothing can be more sharp and positive against him.

That great and wise Captain the Duke of *Rhoan*, discoursing upon what reasons of State, Q. *Elizabeth* acted toward *Spain*, *France*, and the United *Provinces*; tells us particularly, how much she favoured the *Protestants* in *France*, & *Germany*. [*Par toutes ces maximes*, (dit il) *cette sage Princesse a bien fait comprendre, a ses successeurs, que outre l' interest que l' Angleterre a commun avec tous les Princes, &c.* — By all these Maximes (says he) this wise Princess hath given her Successors to understand, that besides the Interest which *England* hath *common* with other Princes, yet one *particular* it hath, which is to advance the Protestant Religion with the same zeal, the King of *Spain* does the Catholick. L' Interest des Princes Discours. 7.

Be it here noted, that when the Queen was most concern'd, and busie to promote the Protestant Cause, even at that very time was She as much employ'd to crush the *Presbyterian* Faction, *viz. Cartwright*, *Coppinger*, *Arthington*, *Hacket*, and their Confederates. The *First* of these was imprison'd, and fined for Seditious and Schismatical practises against *Puritan-Protestants.*

the *Church* and *State*. The *Second* ſtarved himſelf in a Gaol; The *Third* repented, and publickly recanted: The *Fourth* was put to Death for horrid Blaſphemies. (Theſe people talk'd of a practical Miniſtery too. --- (The *Men* are gone, but their poſitions are ſtill in being, and only attend a bleſſed opportunity to be put in execution. This may appear from divers late diſcourſes, which are effectually no other then *Cartwrights Principles*, and *Model*, couch'd in warier terms, and other Authority than theſe, or ſuch as theſe, I think the very Authors of them will ſcarce pretend to.

One Obſervation more. Our *Paraphraſt* renders *the advancement of the Proteſtant Religion*, —Enmity *with* Rome, to the great ſcandal of the Reform'd Profeſſion. We have no *Enmity* but with *Errour*, which in a rigid *Puritan*, to us, is the ſame thing as in a *Papiſt*.

Page 121. But *Popery* (he tells us) *hath been ever infamous for excommunicating, murthering, and depoſing Princes.*

Obſervation. I am no advocate for the *Roman* Cauſe, but upon this account, I think betwixt the *Jeſuite*, and the *Puritan*, it may be a drawn Battel. And yet he follows, with an aſſurance that *the Proteſtant Religion aims at nothing, but that the Kings Prerogative, and popular Liberty, may be even Ballanced.* (That is, the *Puritan*,-- the *Presbyterian Religion*, as he explains himſelf a little lower.

Obſervation. I cannot call to mind one ſingle paſſage in this

this whole Diſcourſe, concerning the *Kings Power*, or the *Peoples Liberty*; which is not either worded Doubtfully or with ſome popular Limitation upon the Royal Authority. What does he mean by *even Ballancing? Cheek by Joul?* Or by what Warrant from the word of God, does a Presbyters Religion intermeddle with Popular Liberty? Unleſs the holy man intends to bring *Homage* to *Kings*, within the compaſs of *Ceremonies of Humane, and Myſtical Inſtitution.* Yet once again.

The Presbyterian Principle (he ſayes) *is for ſubjection to Princes, though they were Hereticks, or Infidels; and if they differ herein from the Prelatical Proteſtant,* (I was afraid we had been all Papiſts) *it is only that they plead for Liberty, ſetled by known Laws, and fundamental Conſtitutions.*] Pag. 122.

Still *ad Populum?* theſe are the Incantations which have bewitch'd this Nation. This Charm of *qualify'd Diſloyalty*, and *Conditional Obedience.* Behold the very Soul of the Faction in theſe five lines; a fair profeſſion firſt to his *Majeſty*, and with the ſame breath a ſeditious hint to the *People.* What is that Liberty he talks of, but a more colourable title to a Tumult? That Legal Freedome, to which both by the Royal Bounty, and our own Birth-right we ſtand entituled, we ought not to conteſt for with our Soveraign, and (God be prays'd) we need not. Now for another fit of kindneſſe. *Obſervation.*

Page 403. *His Majesty our Native King, may govern as he pleases, without fear of Hazards*, by continuing to shew himself a Common Father.

Observation. What's this cause a kin to the third Article of the Covenant? *To preserve and defend the Kings Majesties person and Authority*, in the preservation and defence of the true religion, and Liberties of the Kingdoms,](as who should say, if, he does otherwise,let him look to himself.

Ibid. *The excessive Dominion of the Hierarchy, with the rigorous imposition of humane Ceremonies was accounted much of the malady of former times, which ended in those deadly Convulsions of Church and State.*

Observation. Since this pragmatical Levite will provoke a Controversie, I am content to entertain it.

If the Bishops excesses were the Cause of War, how came the Kings ruine to be the effect of it? But 'tis no new thing for a Presbyterian to saddle the wrong Horse. Just in this manner did the *Covenanters* treat his late Majesty: and *by those very Troops that cryed down Bishops was the King murther'd.* Ridiculous Brutes, to boggle at a Surplice, and yet run headlong into a Rebellion.

The grand source of our Miseries was the *Covenant*, by which, as by a Spell (in the Name

Name of the bleſſed Trinity) the people were inſenſibly bewitched into an aptneſſe to work any wickedneſſe which the Interpreters of that Oracle ſhould ſay was the Intendment of it.

The firſt notorious Rupture was in *Scotland*, in 1637. attended with a COVENANT, which without Queſtion was formerly agreed upon by the confederate Faction of both Kingdoms, as the moſt proper and leaſt hazardous way of taſting the Kings patience, and the Peoples humours. That their deſign was laid and carried on by Counſels, and Intelligence as aforeſaid, may be collected from the Conſequent, and brotherly Agreements: and truly the Retroſpect of the Act of *Indemnity* ſeems to hint no leſſe, for it commences from the firſt Scottiſh Broyls, tho' four or five years before the War brake out in *England*; what was begun by *Covenant*, was ſo proſecuted.

By virtue of the Covenant the Kirk-party ſupply'd themſelves with Men and Monies: Armies were brought into the Field; and beyond doubt, many that truly loved the King, not knowing what they did, ingaged againſt him. To keep up this deluſion, the Preſs and Pulpit did their parts, and to deal freely after this advance, I ſhould as much have wondred if they had ſtop'd ſhort of his death, as I find others wondering how they durſt accompliſh it. Death with a *Bullet* or an *Axe*, is the ſame *Miſchief* to him that ſuffers it: and the ſame *Crime*, wilfully done, in thoſe that *Act* it. No man can rationally *allow one*, and *condemn*

the *other*: For if the Violence be Lawful; why not as well in the Field, as upon a Scaffold?

In this particular, the Doctor is beside his Cushion. He makes me think of the Marquiss of *Newcastle*, upon a sawcy Clergyman. Why should I remember that he's a Priest (says my Lord) if he forgets it himself? His next argument against *Prelacy* is a Modest, and (as I take it,) a queint One.

page 124. *Can the self same State* (sayes he) *and Frame of Ecclesiasticks be now revived after so great and long continued alterations, by which the Anti-prelatical party is exceedingly increased and strengthned?*

Observation. Surely this Gentleman has a mind to give his Brother *Crofton* a visit. Cannot *Prelacy* be better *restored* after a *Discontinuance*, then *Presbytery erected*, where it never had a *Being*? The very Laws are yet to make, for the One, and still in force for the Other. But the great Obstacle is, *the Anti-prelatical party is exceedingly increased, and strengthned.*] Truly I think, if his Majesty should lessen the Number of them, by two or three of the Promoters of that Doctrine, the Precedent might do some good upon the rest. Can any thing be more seditious? These hints upon fair grounds and given in *private*, might very well become the gravity of a Churchman, or the profession of a Loyal Subject. But to the *People*, these Calculations are Dictates of Sedition; and only

only meant to engage the credulous and heady multitude in falſe opinions both of the Tyranny of Prelates, and their own Power.

Thus far in *Obſervation* upon the firſt Part of *The Intereſt of England, in the matter of Religion*, &c.— *The whole Structure whereof* (in his own words) *reſts upon theſe Poſitions, as its adequate foundation.*

1. *That whileſt the two forenamed Parties remain divided, both the Proteſtant Religion, and the Kingdome of* England *is divided againſt it ſelf.*

2. *That the* Presbyterians *cannot be rooted out, nor their Intereſt ſwallowed up, whileſt the State of* England *remaineth Proteſtant.*

3. *That their ſubverſion if it be poſſible to be accompliſhed, will be very pernicious to the Proteſtant Religion, and the Kingdome of* England.

4. *That the Coalition of both Parties into one may be effected by an equal accommodation, without repugnancy to their conſcientious Principles on either ſide, in ſo much that nothing juſtifiable by Religion or ſound Reaſon can put a Bar to this deſirable Union.*

The *whole matter* (in Debate he tells us) rests upon three main Enquiries.

Page 17. part. 1. I. Qu. *Whether in Justice or Reason of State the* Presbyterian *Party should be Rejected and Depressed, or Protected and Incouraged.*

II. Qu. *Whether the* Presbyterian *Party may be protected and incouraged, and the Episcopal not Deserted nor Dis-obliged.*

III. Qu. *Whether the Upholding of both parties by a just and equal accommodation be not in it self more desireable and more agreeable to the State of* England, *than the absolute exalting of the one party, and the total subversion of the other.*

Observation. I shall now offer some further Reasonings of my Own; upon this Subject; therein proposing such *Brevity* and *Clearnesse*; that both the Lazy, and the Busie may find time to read it, and the Weakest not want Capacity to understand it.

His *first Position* holds no further good, then as the *Presbyterians* are first *Protestants* in the matter of the *difference*, and then *Considerable* in the ballance of the *Nation*. *Religion* led the Quarrel, so let it the Dispute. In using the word *Protestant*, I follow Custome, for

for I had rather call it *Catholick*: but *Proteſtant* let it be.

I ſuppoſe by the Proteſtant Religion, we underſtand That of the Reformed Churches: to whoſe Deciſion we ſhall willingly ſubmit the ſum of our Diſagreements: which may be ſtated under a Reduction to theſe Two Queſtions.

I. Qu. *Whether or no the Government of the Church by* Archbiſhops *&* Biſhops —— *be* Antichriſtian, *or* Unlawful?

II. *Whether ſuch Laws of Humane and ſignificant Inſtitution, as are orderly made, and neither contradict the General Laws of* Nature, *nor any poſitive Law in* Scripture, —— *be Binding or not?*

Firſt, concerning the *Prelacy*: *Luther* himſelf diſtinguiſhes betwixt *Popiſh Tyrants*, and *True Biſhops*: profeſſing his Quarrel to them as *Popiſh* not as *Biſhops*. *Apol. Confeſs: per Pap. Pag. 137.*

The Authors of the *Auguſtane Confeſſion*, leave it upon Record, *That they would willingly preſerve the Eccleſiaſtical and Canonical Polity, if the Biſhops would ceaſe to Tyrannize over their Churches.*] *De reform. adver. Eccleſ. pag. 95.*

Bucer adviſes by all means *the reſtoring of ſuch Eccleſiaſtical Governments as the Canons preſcribe*, (Epiſcopis & Metropolitanis) *to* Biſhops

Biſhops *and* Metropolitans. Melanchon *to Luther*, —— *You would not imagine* (ſays he) *how ſome people are netled to ſee Church-polity reſtored: as if it were the Romiſh Sovereignty again.*] Ita de Regno ſuo, non de Evangelio, dimicant ſocii noſtri.

Calvin himſelf recommends the *Hierarchy* to the King of *Poland*: and treating concerning the Primitive Church, ſays, *That the Antient Government by Arch-biſhops and Biſhops*, *and the* Nicene *conſtitution of Patriarchs*, *was for Orders ſake*, *and good Government.* [Ad Diſciplinæ conſervationem pertinebat.]

The ſame perſon being called to accompt by Cardinal *Sadolet*, concerning the *Geneva* defection, and for ſubſcribing the *Auguſtane Confeſſion*, renders this Anſwer. *Curſed be ſuch as oppoſe that* Hierarchy, *which ſubmits it ſelf to Chriſt Jeſus.* [Nullo non *Anathemate* dignos cenſeo, quotquot illi *Hierarchiæ*, qui ſe *Domino Jeſu* ſubmittit, ſubjici nolunt.

Zanchi (the Compiler of the Gallican Confeſſion) obſerves a Change of *Name*, rather than of *Office*, throughout moſt of the *German Churches*. *Biſhops* and *Arch-biſhops* being onely diſguiſed under the notion of *Super-intendents*, and *General-Superintendents*: acknowledging, *That by the conſent of Hiſtories*, *Counſels*, *and the antient Fathers*, *thoſe Orders have been generally Allow'd by all Chriſtian Societies.*

Beza, (the rigid Succeſſor of *Calvin*) being check'd by the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*,

bury, for intermedling beyond his Spheare, ——*We do not charge* (ſays he) *all* Archbiſhops *and* Biſhops *with Tyranny.*— *The Church of* England *hath afforded many learned Men, and many glorious Martyrs of that Function. If that Authority be there ſtill in Being, may a perpetual Bleſſing go along with it.* [Fruatur ſane iſtâ ſingulari Dei beneficentiâ, quæ utinam illi ſit perpetua.] This with all Ceremony was addreſſed, —— *Totius Angliæ* Primati: *To the* Primate *of all England, and in the name of the whole Church of* Geneva.

Saravia makes him him ſpeak yet plainer; who arguing for the *Hierarchy* out of the Apoſtles Canons, receives from *Beza* this Reply. *This is no more then what we wiſh might be reſtored to all Churches.* [*Quid aliud hic ſtatuitur, quam quod in omnibus locis, Eccleſiis reſtitutum cupimus?*] Bez. cont. Sarav. p. 116.

Zanchi comes up to the very Caſe of *England*; (nay, and a little further too) not onely affirming *Epiſcopacy to be agreeable to the Word of God*: But where it is in exerciſe, that it ought to continue, and where by violence it hath been aboliſh'd, that it ought to be reſtor'd. [* *Ubi vigent* (Iſti ordines ſcil.) *non eſſe Abolendos, & ubicunque Iniquitas temporum eos abolevit Reſtituendos.*] * Note.

With what Face now ſhall the *Enemies* of *Biſhops* call themſelves *Proteſtants*, in this particular at leaſt, wherein they evidently croſs the whole ſtream of Proteſtant Divines? Now to the ſecond *Quære.*

Whether

Whether such Laws of Humane, and significant Institution, as are orderly made, and neither contradict the general Laws of Nature, nor any positive Law in Scripture, be binding or not?

Calvin Epist. Pag. 341. Hear *Calvin* first, [*Quamvis quod obrunditur scandalum afferat, quia tamen verbo Dei per se non repugnat concedi potest.*] *Scandals Taken*, without repugnancy to the Word of God, are not sufficient to invalidate the obligation of a *Ceremony* imposed by the Church. *Beza* himself, may, Mr. *Cartwright*, the Captain of our blessed Legions, will allow, rather than quit a *Benefice*, to wear a Surplice.

Scripta Anglicana. p. 455. *Bucer thanks God with all his soul to see the English Ceremonies so pure*, and conform to the Word of God, or at least, (rightly understood) not contrary to it.

Not to hunt further for particular Authorities, I shall be bold with my own Brother, and make use of some general Collections which he hath gathered ready to my hand.

H. L. S. His affinity of sacred Liturgies. pag. 27. *Nothing assuredly can be more demonstrative of the* Protestant *Tenets, than the Confession of their several Churches.*

Cap. 27. *That of* Helvetia *first*, [*Churches have always used their Liberty in Rites, as being things indifferent, which we also do at this day.*]

Cap. 15. *That of* Bohemia; [*Humane Traditions and Ceremonies brought in by a good custom, are with an uniform consent to be retained in the Ecclesiastical*

Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies of Chriſtian People, at the common Service of God.] *The* Gallican; [*Every place may have their peculiar conſtitutions, as it ſhall ſeem convenient for them.*] Act. 32.
The Belgick; [*We receive thoſe Laws as are fit, either to cheriſh or maintain concord, or to keep us in the obedience of God.*] Act. 32.
That of Ausburg; [*Eccleſiaſtical Rites which are ordained by mans Authority, and tend to quietneſs and good order in the Church, are to be obſerved.*] Act. 15.
That of Saxony; [*For order ſake, there muſt be ſome decent and ſeemly Ceremonies.*] Act. 20.
That of Swethland; [*Such Traditions of men as agree with the Scriptures, and were ordained for good manners, and the profit of men, are worthily to be accounted rather of God than of Man.*] Cap. 14.
Theſe were the Tenents they publickly owned, nor did they act different from what they taught, ordaining Churches, Pulpits, Prayers before and after Sermon, adminiſtring the Sacraments in Churches, delivering the Communion in the forenoon to Women, Baptizing Infants, and ſeveral other things, not one whereof were directly commanded by either Chriſt, or his Apoſtles.

From hence 'tis manifeſt, we may divide from *Presbyterians*, and yet the *Proteſtant Religion not be divided againſt it ſelf.*

A *Schiſm* there is, but whether in the *Church*, or in the *Faction*, is onely a diſpute for thoſe that plead the *Authority of Tumults.*

As their opinions are not one jot *Proteſtant*, where they divide from *Biſhops*; ſo neither are their

their *Morals* any more warrantable, wherein they act as *Men*. Which ſhall we credit, *Words*, or *Deeds*? Will they not *Bite*, where they pretend to *Kiß*? A famous *Martyr* of that Party, (*Hacket*) ſerved a fellow ſo. Some difference there had been, and they were to be made friends. *Hacket* pretends a Reconcilement; takes the man in his Arms, bites off his Noſe, and ſwallows it. This is that *Hacket* that was joyn'd with *Coppinger*, and *Arthington*, in a plot to murder the Lords in the *Star-chamber*, becauſe they had committed *Cartwright*, (the great *Rabbi* of the Party) whoſe Crime was onely the erecting of the *Presbytery* without, and againſt the Queens Authority. Thus we ſee, *That in Queen* Elizabeth's *days too, the Proteſtant Religion was divided againſt it ſelf*. Briefly, that it is not *Religion* which moves theſe people, is moſt apparent, from their unquiet and diſtempered Actings. Proceed we now to enquire what it is, or in plain terms, to unmaſque the *Holy Cheat*, and ſhew it bare-fac'd to the people.

Of all Impreſſions, thoſe of Religion are the deepeſts; and of all Errors, the moſt to be lamented and indulged, are thoſe of tender and miſ-guided Conſciences. The clearneſs of this Principle conſidered, it is no wonder that the fouleſt deſigns, put on the greateſt ſhews of Holineſs, as the onely way to gain and rule affections, without which, no great matters can be accompliſh'd. This is a truth well known to the *Presbyterians*, and of experiment

periment as antient as their Diſcipline.

We do not undertake to read their *Hearts*, but their *VVritings* we may venture upon; enquire a little into their *practiſes*, and by comparing both, give ſome tolerable gueſs at their *Intentions*. The readieſt way is to look back, and match them; for the beſt proſpect of the future is behind us.

Some grumblings toward the Conſiſtorian diſcipline, there were in the days of *Edw. 6.* but the firſt notorious Separation was that of *Frankford*, (in the Reign of Queen *Mary*) when *Gilby*, *Goodman*, and *Whitingham*, with their Companions, flew off, and went to *Geneva*, from whence they returned into *England*, ſoon after Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown. *Theſe* led the Dance in *England*; *Knox* in *Scotland*: and at this day our *Presbyterians* do but write after their Copy: profeſſing the ſame *Principles*, pretending the ſame *Scruples*, and beyond doubt propoſing the ſame *End*; which was to get the ſame Dominion here, which *Calvin* and *Beza* exerciſed at *Geneva*: to whom they ſtill repair'd for Counſel as they needed. *The riſe of Presbytery.*

Cartwright and *Travers* came in the breech of theſe, but not without conſulting *Beza* firſt, to learn the Knack of the *Geneva Model*. Theſe were the men that firſt brought into *England* that horrible Poſition, that the *Geneva Diſcipline* was as eſſential a Note of the Church, as either the *true preaching of the Word*, or the *due Adminiſtration of the Sacraments*. This is the Principle which ſupports the Presbyterian Intereſt.

For

The Process of Presbytery.

For the first thirteen years of the Queen's Reign, they contented themselves to throw about their Libels against Ceremonies, and divide into *Conventicles*.

In the fourteenth of her Majesty, they addressed two *Admonitions* to the *Parliament*; the former in the quality of a *Remonstrance*, with a Platform; the other, bolder, and more peremptory. This Parliament was no sooner Dissolved, but they fell presently to work upon their *Discipline*; the Progress whereof is with great exactness set down in the *Third Book* of Bancroft's *dangerous Positions*.

Dangerous Positions, pag. 43. *In* 1572. *a Presbytery was erected at* Wandesworth *in* Surrey, *at which time they had also their Conventicles in* London, *where little was debated, but against Subscription, the Attire, and Book of Common-prayer.*

Dangerous Pos. pag. 44. *In* 82. *A meeting was appointed of* 66 *Ministers, out of* Essex, Cambridge-shire, *and* Norfolk, *at* Cockfield; *to confer about the Common-prayer,* —— *what might be tolerated.*]

Dangerous Pos. pag. 45. *In* 83. *The form of Discipline was compiled, and Decrees made touching the practise of it, which soon after were put in execution.*]

Dangerous Pos. pag. 75. *In* 87. *The* Discipline was received, *and put in practise in* Northampton-shire.]

pag. 86. *In* 88. *A Classical Assembly at* Coventry.]

pag. 89. *In* 89. *A general Meeting in* Cambridge, *and another at* Ipswitch.]

pag. 91. *In* 1590. *Upon the detection of the Premises, they refused to answer upon Oath.*

Being

Being thus Associated, they appropriate to their Meetings *the name of the* Church, *and use the style.* Dangerous Pos. pag. 120.

The Offices of the Lord Arch-bishops, and Bishops, *&c.* (says *Martin Junior*) are condemn'd by the Doctrin of the Church of *England.*] pag. 125.

By these degrees, the Schismaticks advanced to a dangerous heighth, and Boldness; *and of this temper and extraction are our Presbyterians.*

After the aforemention'd discovery, a stricter eye and hand was kept upon them; divers of the Ring-leaders were imprison'd, and the Covy broken.

Upon the coming in of King *James*, they began to stir again; but he knew them too well, either to Trust, or Suffer them.

How they behaved themselves towards the late King, is to the eternal Infamy, not onely of the Faction, but of the Nation, too notorious: What they design toward the present Government, That's the Question: And now I come to enquire.——

Whether in Justice or Reason of State the Presbyterian *Party should be Rejected and Depressed, or Protected and Incouraged.*

Before I fall upon the Question, once again I explain my self. By *PRESBYTERIAN*, I intend a *Faction*, that under colour of

ſetling a Reform'd *DISCIPLINE*, ſeeks to diſſolve the frame of an eſtabliſh'd *Government*. And firſt, I am to prove that Party ſo diſtinguiſh'd, ſuch a *Faction*, which both from their own *Practiſes*, *Poſitions*, and from Common Obſervation, and Authority, I think I ſhall make good; and that their laſt aim is to exerciſe that Tyranny themſelves, which they pretend to puniſh.

We'l firſt examine how they treat the *Civil Power*.

Presbyters Doctr. concerning Kings. Knox to Engl. and Scotl. fol. 78. Gilby Obedience, p. 25. Regiſter, p. 48. Goodman, p. 144. Spotswoods Hiſtory of the Chur. of Scotl. p. 330. Scots Plea p. 262. Kings Declaration

If Princes be Tyrants againſt God and his Truth, their Subjects are freed from their Oaths of Obedience.

Kings, Princes, and Governors, have their Authority of the People, and upon Occaſion, the People may take it away again.

Miniſters ought not to obey the Prince, when he preſcribes Ceremonies, and a Faſhion of Apparel.

Evil Princes ought by the Law of God to be depoſed.

Andrew Melvil *being cited to anſwer for Treaſon delivered in a Sermon, declined the judgment of the King, affirming*, That what was ſpoken in Pulpit, ought firſt to be tried and judged by the Presbytery; and that neither the King nor Counſel might *in primâ inſtantiâ*, meddle therewith, although the ſpeeches were Treaſonable.]

Strike the Baſilique vein; nothing but this will cure the Pluriſie of our State.

Let us never give over, till we have the King

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in our power, and then he ſhall ſee how good Subjects we are. (Delivered in a Sermon.) concerning Scotland, p. 404.

It is lawful for Subjects to make a Covenant, and Combination without the King. Ibid. p. 409.

But to come nearer Home, to ſhew that the whole Gang is of the ſame Leaven. Worſe than all this was daily printed againſt the late King, even by thoſe Perſons that were in pay to the *Presbyterian* Faction: and yet at laſt, thoſe outrages are juſtifi'd againſt the *Father*, by ſuch as would be thought Loyal to the *Son*.

If Parliaments *think to ſcape better, they are deceived.*

If the Brethren cannot obtain their will by ſuit, nor diſpute, the Multitude and People muſt do the Feat. Bancroft, p. 169.

One preached, *That though there were never ſo many Acts of Parliament againſt the Covenant, yet it ought to be maintain'd againſt them all.* King's declaration, 404.

The Parliament can make no Law at all concerning the Church, but onely ratifie what the Church decrees: and after it hath ratifi'd it, yet if the Aſſembly of the Church ſhall prohibite it, and repeal that Decree of the Church, all the Subjects are diſcharged from yielding obedience to that Act of Parliament. Ibid. 408.

An Aſſembly may abrogate Acts of Parliament, if they any way reflect upon buſineſs of the Church. Ibid. 411.

Knox. *Reformation of Religion belongs to the Commonalty.*

Of the Parliament *in the 24 year of the Queen*, (ſays the Supplication) *if the deſired Reformation be not granted.*] There ſhall not be a man of their ſeed that ſhall proſper, be a Parliament man, or bear Rule in *England* any more.

Concerning *Laws eſtabliſhed*; They *Fall* in Conſequence with the Power that makes them.

Presbyterians opinion of Biſhops.

Let us ſee now with what modeſty they treat the *Church*, and firſt the *Biſhops*.

Bancroft pag. 56. *They are Ordinances of the Devil,—Proud, Popiſh, preſumptuous, prophane, paltry, peſtilent, pernicious Prelates, and Uſurpers,—Robbers, Wolves, Simoniacks, Perſecutors, Sowers of Sedition, Dragons,* (and ſo to the end of the Chapter.)

Ibid. p. 58. *Their Clergy, an Antichriſtian, Swiniſh Rabble,——The Miniſters are neither Proved, Elected, Called, nor Ordained according to Gods Word.*

The Ceremonies,—Carnal, Beggerly, Antichriſtian Pomps.

Presbyterian Reformation.

Hitherto, the *Faults* of Governors, and Government, now their Propoſals of *Amendment*, and *Reformation*; by what *Rules*, and by what

What *Means* we may be Governed *Better*. *Thus then.*

Let the whole Government of the Church be committed to Miniſters, Elders, and Deacons. Admon. 1.

Very good, and to whom the Government of the *State*?

Why to *Them* too. *For the Church wherein any Magiſtrate*, King, *or* Emperor *is a Member, is divided into ſome that are to* Govern; *viz. Paſtors, Doctors, and Elders: and into ſuch as are to obey*, viz. *Magiſtrates of all ſorts, and the People.* Cartwright.

The Queſtion is next, about the Extent of the *Eccleſiaſtical* Power, and in what manner that Aſſumption hooks in all Civil Actions within their Cogniſance?

In Ordine ad Spiritualia, Forſooth: by which rule nothing ſcapes them. Holy Diſcipline, pag. 260.

'Tis the deſire of the *Admonitor*; *That he and his Companions may be deliver'd by Act of Parliament, from the Authority of the Civil Magiſtrates: as Juſtices, and others, and from their Inditings, and Finings.*]

The Elderſhip ſhall ſuffer no lewd cuſtoms to remain in their Pariſhes, either Games, or otherwiſe.] And further; *The Office of the Church-Governors, is to decide Controverſies in Doctrine and Manners*, ſo far as pertaineth *to Conſcience and the Church-cenſures.*] Ibid. 284. Ibid.

Every Fault (ſays *Cartwright*) *that tendeth* Ib. 285.

eth either to the Hurt of a man's neighbour, or to the hindrance of the glory of God, is to be examined and dealt in by the Orders of the holy Church.] Nay, *Knox* goes further yet.

The bare *Suſpition of Avarice, or of Pride, Superfluity, or Riotouſneſs in Chear or Raymment.*]— Even this Nicety falls within their Cenſure.

Now would I know what need of a *Civil Magiſtrate*, when even our private thoughts are ſubjected to the Scrutiny of a *Presbytery?*

But will ſome ſay, What ſignifies the intemperance of Particular Tongues, as to the General of the Party? I am challenged by the Author of the *Intereſt of England*, to produce their *Actions:* and *That's* my next immediate Buſineſs.

The *Presbyter* has now the Chair, ſee how he manages his Greatneſs. None of that Tyranny ye found in *Biſhops*, I warrant ye: no *groaning* now under the Yoke of *Antichriſt*; the intolerable burthen of *canonical Subſcription*; *the Impoſition of Ceremonies, properly ſacred*; *the Injunction of the Croſs in Baptiſm*; *and that abominable* Idol, *the Common-Prayer.*

Inter. of *Engl.* Part. 2. p. 81.

Some *words* perhaps may ſlip unwarily, that might have been as well let alone; but alas good people, they mean no harm. *Suppoſe that ſome of this way were guilty of ſome provoking forwardneſs, ſhould grave Patriots, and wiſe counſellors thereupon deſtroy the weak Party, or rather heal it?* 'Tis indeed poſſible, that

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in the heat of a Reforming and Spiritual Zeal, they may have let fall Speeches of holy Indignation against the oppoſers of the * *LORD'S ORDINANCE.* But have they ſhewed their diſaffection either to * *King* or *Parliament*, *by any thing diſcernable in their outward behaviour:* have they controlled the Law of the Land, or the *juſt Liberty* of the People?

* *By which term they difference their Claſſical Approbation, from Epiſcopal Ordination.*

If they have *not* done all this, there's a great failing both in our Stories, and our Memories. I know 'twill be objected, they *Petition'd*, and in a ſupplicant and humble way, ſuitable to the duty of good Subjects. They did *Petition*; and in this manner----- (about the 27. of the *Queen.*)

* Inter. of Engl. Pag. 2. p. 57.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty, &c.----- *That it may be Enacted*, &c.---- *That the Book hereunto annexed*, &c. *Intituled*, *A Book of the Form of Common-Prayers, Adminiſtration of Sacraments*, &c---- *And every thing therein contain'd, may be from henceforth authorized, put in ure, and practiſed throughout all Your Majeſty's Dominions.*

The Reformers way of Petitioning.

Herein they preſs upon the Nation their *own Form*, which would not yet allow of any *Other.*

What they could not get eſtabliſh'd by Law, they ſettle yet by Practice, and privately agree upon a general endeavour to encreaſe the Party.] But ſay they ſhould be oppoſed?

Holy Diſcipline, p. 100.

Why then, have a fling at *Evil Counſellors.* [*If her Majeſty give ear to ſuch Counſellors, ſhe may have cauſe one day to lament.*] Then they

Bancroft's dangerous Poſit. p. 53.

Ibid. p. 56. they *Remonſtrate, how miſerably poor men have been handled;*] *That godly Miniſters have been*
Ibid. p. 57. *brought before the Bars of Juſtice;*] *and that if this Perſecution be not provided for, it is the caſe of many a thouſand in* England: *great troubles will come of it.*]

Inter. of Engl. p. 29. *This numerous party will not vary from it ſelf,* &c. ——— *The minds of men are fix'd in*
Ibid. *this Opinion, and are not like to be reduced to*
Bancroft pag. 138. *the practiſe of former times.*] Well ſaid *J. C.*
Ibid. 11. Pa. 140. yet, *Thouſands* (ſays another) *do ſigh for this Diſcipline; and ten thouſands have ſought it.*] *We do proteſt unto Your Majeſty* (ſay the Supplicators) *that we will be no longer ſubject unto the Biſhops unlawful, and uſurped Authority,* &c.] ——— And another. [*The truth will prevail* (ſpeaking of the Diſcipline) *in ſpight of your teeth,* (meaning the Biſhops) *and all other Adverſaries of it.*]

Inter. of Engl. p. 53. In the late King's *Declaration concerning the tumults in Scotland:* this way of Petitioning is very frequent: and this is that my friend hints, in ſaying, *That the Presbyterians have never ceaſed to ſollicite, and ſupplicate,* &c.] But *Words* draw no *Blood.*

'Tis true, but ſuch as theſe come very near it.

We *phancy* firſt, defects in Government; *then* we *diſcourſe* them; after *that*, we *propoſe* a Reformation, which, if rejected, we proceed to *preſs* it: the next ſtep is a *Threat*, and then a *Blow.*

Where there are failings in Authority, 'tis not for private Perſons to take Publick notice of

of them. Who ever does *that*, would *ſtrike*, if he *durſt*. This is not meant of every ſlip, in common diſcourſe, either of *Heat*, or *Inadvertency*; yet *that* is very ill too) but of *deliberate* Affronts; ſuch as proceed from a form'd *Habit* of Irreverence: and in that Caſe, I think 'twere no hard meaſure, if he that ſets his hand to the King's diſhonor, ſhould loſe his Head for't.

Take it at worſt. Put caſe a Prince *Miſgoverns*; yet we are ſure, that his *Superior* does not; and that reſpect we cannot pay to his *failings*, we muſt allow to his *Commiſſion*. From *VVords* proceed we now to *Actions*.

Presbyterian Practices toward their

SOVEREIGN.

THE *Presbyterian* is no ſooner in the Saddle, but (in the name of *Reformation*) how the man Gallops: *Kings*, *Parliaments*, *Laws* and *Liberties*, *Oathes* and *Covenants*, are but as feathers in his way.

I ſhall not clog this Section with many Inſtances. The Traiterous actings of the *Conventicle* at *Glaſgow*, in 1638. the horrid outrages that uſher'd it, and the moſt deplorable conſequences that enſu'd upon it, contain

contain enough to brand that Faction to eternity.

I ſhall the rather fix *there*, becauſe it brings the Caſe home; and firſt, in regard that the *Schiſmaticks* of both Nations acted by the ſame tie of Oath and Intereſt. Next, as it is the Model, they have made the people ſwear they would be damn'd by. Some of their many Inſolencies are theſe.

Poſitions of the Conventicle at *Glaſgow*, An. 1638.

I. *The Aſſembly is Independent, either from King or Parliament, in matters Eccleſiaſtical.*

II. *It is lawful for Subjects to Covenant and Combine without the King, and to enter into a Bond of mutual defence againſt him.*

III. *An Aſſembly may abrogate Acts of Parliament, and diſcharge their fellow-Subjects from obedience to them, if they any way reflect upon the buſineſs of the Church.*

IV. *They deny the King's right of Calling or Diſſolving Aſſemblies, and they continue to Sit and Act, notwithſtanding his Majeſty's expreſs Order for their Diſſolution.* (See the King's Declaration.)

Theſe Rebellious proceedings are yet darkned by the tranſcending Uſurpations that followed them. But here I am bounded; This onely I may ſay;

Who ever has a mind to run the extremities

tremities of another War, and to see another King murther'd, let him give his Vote for Presbytery.

And here let every man look behind him, and lay his finger on his mouth.

As the *Geneva* Discipline is injurious to *Kings*, and stated *Laws*, so it is most ridiculously tyrannous to the *People*. *A great uproar arising in* Edinburgh, *about the making of a* Robin-hood, *they of the Consistory did excommunicate the whole Multitude.*] 'Tis a strange tenderness possesses these Saints. *One of them being to Christen a child, brake off in the middle of the Action, because he would not call it* Richard.] Presbytery tyrannous to the People. Bancroft p. 20. Ibid. p. 105.

I suppose no man knew this kind of Cattel better than King *James*. *I was persecuted* (says that learned Prince) *by* Puritans, *not from my Birth onely, but even since four Months before my Birth.*] And to Prince *Henry* Thus. Presbyters persecutors of K. *James*.

Take heed to such Puritans, very Pests in the Church and Common-weal, whom no deserts can oblige, neither Oathes or Promises bind; breathing nothing but Sedition, and Calumnies, aspiring without measure, railing without reason, and making their own imaginations (without any warrant of the word) the square of their conscience. I protest before the great God, and K. *James* his works: pag. 305. Ibib. p. 160.

and since I am here as upon my Testament, it is no place for me to lie in, that ye shall never find with any Highlands or Border-thieves, greater ingratitude, and more lies and vile perjuries, than with these Phanatique *spirits.* And I think every man may say as much that hath but known them.

The Antiquity of Phanatiks.

We are at length by Gods grert mercy, delivered from those Evangelical Impostors, and after all our wandrings brought once again, into the Channel. We have our *Prince*, our *Laws*, our *Freedoms*, our Interest lies before us, and certainly we cannot be so mad, as now to dash a second time upon the same Rock: *Yet they shall lose nothing for want of offering at it.*

The Arguments of 1641. are set on foot again: The very same with *Cartwright's*, (that *Consistorian Patriarch*, as *Bancroft* terms him) nay, they are advanc'd already beyond *pleading* of their Cause, to *pressing* of it, by sawcy Importunities, and peremptory threatnings.

From what I have deliver'd, it cannot be deny'd, but their Positions are destructive to all *Civil Government*: And for their Practices, the story is written in Blood.

This might suffice to end the Controversie concerning *Reason of State*, for certainly a Faction so Principled, cannot with safety to the Publick be incorporated into any Politick Constitution. But I shall add some further Reasons,

Reasons, why by no means they are to be admitted.

Reasons against Coalition.

1. *They'r a Party never to be gain'd by* Obligations; *and this is manifest from their proceedings toward the late King, whose most unhappy Tenderness of Nature cost him his Life. And at this instant, that irreclaimable ingratitude is yet more clear toward his Majesty in being: whose unexampled Mercy, so much as lies in them, is converted to his* Dishonor, *and* Destruction.

2. *They ground their claim upon the Equity of their Cause, which if allow'd, by the same reason they may serve this King as they did his Father.*

3. *Their Demands are* Endless, *as well as* Groundless, *and it is not prudential to grant any thing to a Faction, that will be satisfi'd with nothing. It is but* Giving *them a power to* Take *the rest.*

4. *They* Expostulate, *and what they get upon those Terms, they look upon rather as a* Submission, *than a* Concession. *The very manner of their Address has a spice of* Mutiny *in it, and they will hardly make an honest use, of what they compass by dishoneſt means.*

5. *It is not advisable to encourage Tumultuary combinations, by Rewarding them.*

6. *The Dispute is not so much what their* Consciences *will* Bear, *as what their* Importunities *can* Obtain: *and to feel the* Pulse *of the Supreme Authority.*

In fine, It is a contest betwixt the Law *and a* Faction,

Faction, *and a fair ſtep toward a New Rebellion.*

So much for *Reaſon of State.*

Now to the *Juſtice* of their pretences. The Quære is.

Whether in Juſtice or Reaſon of State the* Presbyterian *Party ſhould be Rejected and Depreſſed, or Protected and Incouraged.

'Tis one thing what the *King* may *do* in point of *Juſtice*, and another thing what the *Presbyterians* may *demand* upon that ſcore.

There is a *Juſtice* of *Conſcience*, *Honor*, and of *Prudence.*

Juſtice of Conſcience. By the *Firſt:* His Majeſty is ty'd up in common with the meaneſt of his Subjects. That is, if the King find himſelf in Conſcience bound to maintain Epiſcopacy in the ſtate he found it, (Legally ſettled) he is not free to alter it.

Juſtice of Honor. In point of *Honor*: There's more Liberty, and whatever the King does in that particular, is well done. But his Majeſty not having as yet declar'd himſelf; what do we know, how far even upon That Point he may concern himſelf to reject the *Presbyterian's* Demands? Partly out of *Reverence* to his Royal *Father*; In part, out of a Princely Strictneſs to His own *Dignity:*

Dignity: and partly out of a Generous tenderneſs toward his Ruin'd Party.

Firſt, as to what may ſeem relating to His Majeſty's *Father*.

That which theſe people urge, is what the late King choſe, rather to Die, than Grant: which in His Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ is intimated in theſe words.

In theſe two points, the preſervation of eſtabliſh'd Religion and Laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of my ſufferings, as to the wörlds cenſure, into the honor of a kind of Martyrdom, as to the teſtimony of My own conſcience, the troublers of My Kingdoms, having nothing to object againſt me but this, that I prefer Religion and Laws eſtabliſhed, before theſe alterations they propounded. Εἰκὼν Βασιλικὴ. pag. 239.

Every word hath its weight, which fell from the Pen of that pious and judicious Prince. Nor can I over-paſs a Caution of his learned Father's; when I conſider the ſum of their Propoſals, which in effect is but a condemnation of the late *King*, in the bold, needleſs juſtification of *Themſelves*. Theſe are the words.

As for offences againſt your own Perſon and Authority, ſince the fault concerneth your ſelf, I remit to your own choice to puniſh or pardon therein as your heart ſerveth you, and according to the circumſtances of the turn, and the quality of the Committer. K. James his works, p. 157.

Here

Here would I alſo like another Crime to be unpardonable, if I ſhould not be thought partial: But the Fatherly love I bear you, will make me break the bounds of ſhame, in opening it unto you. It is them, the falſe and unreverent writing, or ſpeaking of malicious men againſt your Parents and Predeceſſors. And a little further.

It is a thing monſtrous to ſee a Man love the Child, and hate the Parents: as on the other part, the infaming and making odious of the Parents, is the ready way to bring the Son into contempt. And for concluſion of this point, I may alſo alledge my own experience: for beſides the judgments of God, that with mine eyes I have ſeen fall upon all them that were chief Traitors to my Parents, I may juſtly affirm, I never found yet a conſtant biding by me in all my ſtraits, by any that were of perfect age in my Parents days, but onely by ſuch as conſtantly bode by them; I mean, ſpecially by them, that ſerved the Queen my Mother; for ſo that I diſcharge my Conſcience to you, my Son, in revealing to you the truth, I care not what any Traitor, or Treaſon-allower, think of it.

Thus

Thus far his Majesty may find himself concern'd in *Honour* to his Fathers Ashes, now to his dying *Counsels*. *The late King's Counsels.*

Take heed of abetting any factions, or applying to any publick Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrary to what is in your judgement, and the Church well setled. Eikon Basil. Page 236.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, that it is safe for a King to gratifie any Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the publick Interest, and the good of the Community. Ib. p. 239.

What in effect do these people now desire, but that his Majesty would rather take their Counsel, than his Fathers? In the next Page, the King expresses a more than ordinary earnestness, in these words.

My Counsel and Charge to you is, that you seriously consider, the former real or objected miscarriages, which might occasion my troubles, that you may avoid them. Ib. p. 240.

Herein, his Majesty is tacitly conjured against them; it being a most notorious Certainty, That **The late King lost both his Crown and Life by Over-granting.** The now-pretended cause of the quarrel, was not mentioned till after the War was begun. The colour of rais-

sing an Army, being to fetch in Delinquents. *After which* (says his Majesty) *among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was urged: the Abolition of Episcopal, and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.*

'Eikon Basil. pag. 62.

As to the point of *Imperial Honour*, wherein his Majesty may possibly concern himself more immediately: It is a high excesse of goodnesse to make his Favours *Common*, where they are look'd upon so *cheap*, (as *here*; Witnesse these daily new Transgressions, since his most Gracious Pardon.) [*Some men* (says the late King) *have that height, as to interpret all fair Condescendings, as Arguments of Feebleness, and glory most in an unflexible stiffness, when they see Others most supple and inclinable to them.*]

Ibid. pag. 169.

There remains yet a *third* Question under this Head of *Honour*; that is, *How far his Majesties* Generosity *may extend it self in Favour, and Protection of those persons that have serv'd him, through all extremities till they have nothing left them beyond the hopes of honourable Epitaphs.*

These people have *Consciences* too; a sense of *Duty* and *Religion*. They reverence the *Episcopal Order*, and *That*, which through the sides of *Bishops*, was equally wounded: The Order of *Kings*. At last, those that *subverted* the Former, and *usurped* the Latter, demand (I think in reparation of their hazards)

a

a *Presbyterian Government*. In which particular, our Duty teaches us not to direct our Master: only we take a sober Freedome to answer our Accusers; and to professe to all the World, that those who fought *For King* and *Bishops*, were in our Opinion as honest men at least as they that fought *against them*.

To his Majesties *honourable* Consideration, I think in this point we may claim a Right. We have suffer'd *for*, and *with* his Royal *Father*, and *Himself*, and the main Justice of the Cause, betwixt the King and those that serv'd him, is the same thing: so that whoever strikes at *Us*, wounds our *Sovereign*.

Lastly, There is a *Justice* of *Prudence*, wherein a man may frame a thousand reasons against the *Encouraging* of the *Presbyterians*: not speculative, and airy Notions, but close, and pinching *Reasons*, grounded upon weighty *Authority*, and a never-failing course of long *experience*. (Yet not to dictate to his Majesty, to whose Will we submit our Reasonings.)

First, if their *Desires* were Modest, the *manner* yet of promoting them, is too rude and positive; they *Preach* and *Print* their Grievances, which is the way rather to stir a *Faction*, than allay a *Scruple*. *Lord*, (sayes Mr. *Manton*) *give us the Liberty of the Gospel, before we go hence and be no more seen.*] As if *Episcopacy*, were *Paganisme*. 'Tis dangerous to *grant more*, to those that *take* too *much*. How do I reverence the Divine Spirit of his late Majesty.

Εικὼν Βασιλ. Page 182. *The great Miscarriage I think is, that popular Clamours and Fury had been allowed the reputation of zeal, and the publick sence; so that the Study to please some parties, hath indeed injured all.*

Ib. p. 236. And again; *Take such a course as may either with calmness and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality, or so order affairs in point of power, that you shall not need to fear or flatter any Faction; for if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesie, you are undone: the Serpent will devour the Dove: you may never expect lesse of Loyalty, Justice, or Humanity, than from those who ingage into religious Rebellion: their Interest is always made Gods, under the colours of Piety, ambitious Policies march, not only with greatest security, but applause, as to the populacy; you may hear from them* Jacobs *voice, but you shall feel they have* Esaus *hands.*

To what I have said, I shall be bold to add a *Justice* of *Proportion*; and thereupon Two Questions.

1. Why should the *Presbyterians*; a *Small, Irregular party*, pretend to give the Law to the *Supreme Authority*, the *established Constitution*; and incomparably the *greater* Part of the Nation?

2. Why should those people, that with a more then Barbarous rigour press'd the Covenant: *ejecting, sequestring, imprisoning* such as refused to take it, and without Mercy or Distinction: ——Those that in publick barr'd

Non-

Non-Covenanters, the Holy Communion in expreſs Terms with *Adulterers*, *Slanderers*, and *Blaſphemers*, affirming in the Pulpit, *that all the Non-Subſcribers to the Covenant were Atheiſts.* —— Why ſhould (I ſay) thoſe people that with ſo unlimited a Tyranny impoſed upon the Nation a Rebellious League; to the Engagement of their *Souls* in *taking* it; their *Liberties* and *Fortunes* in refuſing: — I ſay yet once again; why ſhould thoſe People now at laſt demand an intereſt in that Government, which Root and Branch they have laboured to extirpate? or with what Face can they pretend a Right to an *Authority*, where but by Mercy they have none to *Life*? (I ſpeak of theſe late Libellers and their Abettors.)

The late Kings Declaration concerning *Scotland*. pag. 404.

Let me be underſtood likewiſe by *Presbyterians*, to intend thoſe of the *Scottiſh* race, to whom we are beholden for our *diſcipline*. That Faction firſt advanced it ſelf by Popular *Tumult* and *Rebellion*. *Knox* learned the trick on't at *Geneva*, and brought it into *Scotland*; We had our Agents too, that did as much for us, theſe Fellows conferr'd Notes, ſet the Wheel going, and we were never perfectly quiet ſince.

Upon the whole matter aforegoing (in the Gentlemans own words) *we firmly build this Poſition,*

That the Presbyterian party, ought not, either in Juſtice or Reaſon of State, in any wiſe to be Encouraged, but rather Rejected;

ed; Neither ought they to be protected in any Inconformity to the Law, but rather totally Depressed.

His second Quære is soon dispatch'd, *viz.*

II. Qu. *Whether the* Presbyterian *party may be Protected and Incouraged, and the Episcopal not Deserted nor Disobliged.*

First, many things are *possible*, which are neither *Just* nor *Rational*; and therefore it matters not much to allow it the *One*, if I prove it not to be the *Other*. Imagine such a Contemperation of *Episcopal*, and *Presbyterian* pretences, as might atone their present Disagreements, yet where's the *King*? The Interest that's *principal* in the *Concern*, is not so much as named in the *Question*. The Quarrel was about the *Militia*, not *Lawn-sleeves*, and the *Royal* Party is to be taken in, as well as the *Episcopal*.

The truth of it is; This Gentleman does not find it convenient at present to move an utter Extirpation of Bishops: but he proposes That, which granted, would most infallibly produce it. A *Consociation* forsooth, that for the better credit of the Project, shall be called a *Regulated Episcopacy*, which in good honest *English* is next Door to a *Tyrannical Presbytery*. In fine,

The Episcopal Authority is Deserted and Disob-

Disobliged by the admittance of a Presbyterian Competition.

Yet pardon me, I have found a way to reconcile them, *Make but these squabling* Presbyterians, Bishops, *and the work's done:* as *Presbyters* they are *Encouraged*; and (I dare say) not *disobliged*, as *Bishops*. The plague of it is, there's neither *Justice* nor *Reason of State* for't; and so we are where we were again.

We shall make short work too with his Third Question: for in effect it spells just nothing.

III. Qu. *Whether the upholding of both parties by a just and equal accommodation be not in it self more desireable, and more agreeable to the state of* England, *than the absolute exalting of the one party, and the total subversion of the other.*

I must needs take notice here of two *Mistakes*, the one in *propriety* of language, *viz. the Upholding of both parties.* One of those Parties is not *up*, and cannot be *upheld.* The other, shifts the *Question*, and states the difference betwixt the EXALTATION *of the one*, and the SUBVERSION *of the other*, when all that we desire is but to keep both where they were, without *advancing* or *depressing* either.

If they have any Title to the Interest they

challenge, the same had *Cromwel* to the *Crown*. This Question must be better stated, before we think it worth an Answer.

One Reflexion now upon the Whole.

Here's *Exaltation*, —— and *Subversion*, —— but not a syllable of *Toleration*: and what's the reason of all this? They are afraid that would be granted; and how should they do then to pick a quarrel? Their way is never to be satisfi'd in *Conscience*, with what the King can give in *Honor*, and *Reason*. (His Sacred Majesty's Observation) *A grand Maxim with them was always to ask something, which in Reason and Honor must be deny'd, that they might have some colour to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate as the worst effects of War.*] I have cited this already, but every Line drawn by that Hand deserves to be repeated.

Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ. pag. 170.

To this, there is another end that's common to the Gang, which is, to draw an *odium* upon one Party, and a *compassion* toward the other. And other end than this do I see none at all, in his *absolute exalting*, —— and *total subversion*. We covet no Change, but desire the contrary. How little soever it may appear to *our* purpose, 'tis very much to *theirs*, to have the people understand by *Absolute Exalting*, —— the dangerous and intolerable *pride* of *Bishops*; and by their *total subversion*, on the other side, how sadly the word goes with *The Professors of the Gospel*.

These

These trivial appearances have more weight, than commonly the world imagines: *'Tis not so much* (as *Hooker* says) *how small the spark is that flyeth up, as how apt things about it are to take fire.* Their business is to stir the affections of the common people, which must be done by means and ways, to wise men, in themselves *ridiculous*, but in their applications of most desperate effect.

I speak in earnest, that very Tone they use in Preaching, that *Fellow-feeling-Tone* (as they would have it understood) is I believe of great use to their business. I have observed the *Groans* that follow the *Ahi-mee's*, and beyond doubt those snivelling affectations are not without their benefit. That 'tis a forc'd and acted passion, is evident in this, they almost all of them use the same emphasis.

I would not for my Hand let fall a syllable should cast a scandal upon that Holy Ordinance: and with my soul I reverence the grave and pious Clergy. We cannot attribute enough to God; assume too little to our selves. We cannot be too much afflicted for our sins, nor too sensible of our own unworthiness. Yet I suppose a fit Christian sorrow may be contain'd within such terms as to reach *Heaven*, without disturbing the *Congregation*. To come to a Church-dore, and hear an out-cry, as if a man were cutting for the Stone; and what's all this, but an afflicted Pastor, mourning for those heavy judgments, that hang over the Land because of Common-prayer: And then the Sisters groan so ruthfully, you'd swear five hundred

dred

dred women were in Labour. Away with these ostentations of Holiness,—but first away with the *Discourse* of them.

I must confess, the Gentleman hath offered fair, and more I doubt then he can undertake for, were it accepted. What if Six Presbyterians of Seven renounce his *Moderation*, and say he treated without Commission: where's his Pacifick *Coalition* then? 'Tis for a Parity they struggle; which when they have got, they shall as much contest among themselves to crush again, as ever they did to introduce it. Just thus was the King treated; He was to rule in *Consociation* too, by the *advise* of his Presbyters. And what came on't? The Factions interfer'd; the Change went round the Circle; and at long-length; in the place of a most *Gracious Prince*, up starts a most *Tyrannical Protector*.

And yet I verily think, a way might be found out to work upon these people: Let the King settle their strict Form of Discipline; fill the Presbyteries with Episcopal Divines, and Elders of his own Party: I verily believe these very men would be as hot for Bishops. I cannot comprehend the temper of that *Sacrilegious Tenderness*, that makes men *Digest* Bishops *Lands*, and yet forsooth they cannot *swallow* the *Sleeves*.

Onely this word. Some of the Authors I have quoted *for Episcopacy*, (to deal sincerely) may be as well produc'd *against* it. For That, let them look to't, I am Innocent: and my Cause Clearer for it. They found it for

for their Interest to Engage their Disciples in many Opinions, which for their Honor they would not undertake to defend against their Equals.

I Should end here, were I not drawn out beyond my purpose, by a *Second Part* from the same Hand; which should not yet divert me from my first Intention, could I but save my self, in letting it absolutely alone. By the Formalities of *Title* and *Connexion*, it seems related to the Former part, further then by some passages in the Treatise it appears to be; whereof some few I am concern'd to Examine, and I shall shorten even that little I intend, as much as Possible. He calls it——

A Deliberative Discourse,

PROVING,

That it is not agreeable to sound Reason to prefer the Contracted and Dividing Interest of one Party, before the General Interest of Protestantism, *and of the whole Kingdom of* England, *in which the* Episcopal *and* Presbyterian *Parties may be happily United.*

We are agreed in *all* but in the *Main*, and as to That, I have already shew'd, that in the Subject of our Difference, the *Presbyterian Party* (that is, the *Kirk-party*) is divided from the *Observation.*

the *Proteſtant*: So that unleſs it can be made out, by the Judgment of the *Reformed Churches*, that *Prelacy* is *Antichriſtian*, and that *Inſtituted Ceremonies* are *Unlawful*; the Author of this *Deliberation* overthrows himſelf by his own Argument, of preferring *the General Intereſt of* Proteſtantiſm, *before the Contracted and Dividing Intereſt of one Party*. We ſhould not take in *Diſcipline* within the pale of *Religion*, but againſt That Party, which reckons it an *eſſential* Mark of the *Church*. And let them take their Choice, whether it ſhall be accounted among things *Indifferent*, or *Neceſſary*. If the *Former*, *Obey the Impoſition*; if the *Latter*, let them produce their *Authority*.

The *Foundation* being miſ-lai'd, the *Building* will hardly ſtand: Or, which is worſe, it falls upon the Builder.

He ſays, His Aim is *Unity*, and truly ſo is mine; But *Unity* in ſuch a Compoſition will never ſet us right. Two may agree in the ſame point of Verity; but then that Truth muſt for it ſelf be entertain'd, without conſidering one another. If about any thing *Material* we differ, flie to the *Judge* of *Truth*: The *Scriptures*, and the *Church*: If about Leſs, and Common Matters, go to the *Rule* of *Duty*, (in ſuch Caſes) the ſetled *Law*. But I forget my ſelf.

page 14. *It muſt needs be* (ſays the *Deliberator*) *the Wiſdoms of this State to ſmother all dividing Factions, and to aboliſh all partial Intereſts*, that

that the common Interest of England *may be alone exalted.*

I hope he does not mean, by *State*, the *Keepers of the Liberties*; if the *Supreme Authority* of this Nation as it is legally vested in the *King*, the Man has kill'd himself. What are *Dividing Factions*, but such Parties as start from that common Rule the Law, which every State is bound upon a Principle of *Policy*, and *Honor*, to preserve Sacred and Inviolable?

Observation. The best Rule of Interest is the Law.

The *Law* is but the *Wisdom* treasur'd up of many Ages; —— onely an amass of all those lights, which long *Experience*, strict *Search* and *Industry*; and many Consultations of great Statesmen, have given to the Discovery of our true Interest. Great Reason is there to approve so great *Authority*: and as great shame it were not to avow what we our selves have done; (The Law being but an Universal Vote) beside the penalty of *Disobedience*. How *Mad* then, how *Ignoble*, and how *Desperate* shall we esteem that Faction, that breaks through all these bonds of *Reverence*, *Honor*, and *Prudential Security*, to force that Sanctuary, wherein, as *Christians*, and as *Men*, we have reposed, First, the Protection of our *Religion*; —— and then the Arbitration of our Lives and Fortunes.

From such Dividers, Heaven *deliver* us, first, and then *preserve* us.

All

Page 36. *All Enterprises* (says our Author very rationally) *that have their beginning in judgment, and not in passion, are directed to a certain end set up as a mark, and that end is not a business at Rovers; but some particular steady issue of things, certainly or probably apprehended and expected: Wherefore let wise men consider the mark whereat they level, and to what issue and state of things their actions tend.*

Observation. Most certain 'tis; without that *mark* men go they know not whether. *First* the *End*; *then*, the *Way*; is (I suppose) the Common Method of all *Wise men*: and his advice to *such*, to look before them, might have been spared, they would have don't without it. Now to his Business; but first, I'le clear the way to't. The *Question* is,

Page 33. *Whether the fomenting of these Discords*, (viz. in matters of Discipline) *do not proceed from a carnal design?* And he debates the matter with the *Episcopalians*.

Page 36. *Here is a numerous Party not of the dregs and refuse of the Nation, but of the judicious and serious part thereof: What will they do with them? and how will they order the matter concerning them? Would they destroy them? I solemnly profess, that I abhor to think so by the generality of the Episcopal perswasion: I would disdain to mention such an unreasonable impiety, were it not to shew the inconsiderate and absurd*

absurd proceedings of an unalterable opposition, as that it cannot drive to any formed end and issue. That Protestants should destroy Protestants, for dissenting in the point of Ceremonies, and sole Jurisdiction of Bishops, is so dreadful a violation of Charity and common Honesty, that it is a most uncharitable and dishonest thing to suppose it of them. What then? would they bear them down; or keep them under hard conditions? Shall all persons that cannot yield exact obedience to Ecclesiastical injunctions concerning all the parts of the Liturgy, and Ceremonies, be suspended and deprived as formerly? Shall Ministers of this judgment be cast and kept out of Ecclesiastical Preferment and Employment? Shall all private Conferences of Godly Peaceable Christians, for mutual edification, be held unlawful Conventicles? It hath been thought by wise men to be against the Rules of Government, to hold under a rigid yoke a free people, of such a number and quality, and intermingled in all estates and ranks, and intimately conjoyned with all parts of the Body Politick, that it is almost impossible to exclude their Interest from a considerable share in publick actions.

We are so often told of this *judicious serious Party*, pray let's allow them to be a Company of very fine Gentlemen, and mind our business. I think he says they are *numerous* too. So were the *Frogs that came into the King's Chamber*: and what of that? *Observation.*

In good truth, altogether, it is a very pretty

Anagram

Anagram of *Sedition*. If he wants any single Circumstance that's needful to procure a Tumult, I am exceedingly mistaken.

Mark it, here's *Number*, *Conduct*, and Pretence of *Right*, to *Imbolden*, and to *Fix* the *Multitude*. Then, to *Provoke*, and *Heighten* them: old Sores are rub'd, they are minded how they were used so long ago; and hinted yet of worse behind, if they have not a care betimes. What is all this to say? but

Gentlemen, you remember how it was with you formerly; if you have a mind to any more of That, so. But things are well enough yet; there are those will stand by you that know what they have to do, and enow to make their hearts ake.—— Why it is against all Rule of Government, to put this yoke upon a Free People.—

If the Author be within hearing; he should do well to be his own Expositor. In the mean while, compare we the Gloss with the Text.

He speaks now in his own words, which the Reader may find by conferring them with the entire matter of the last Quotation, to be extracted with the strictest justice to his meaning.

Here is (says he) *a numerous Party, of the judicious and serious part of the Nation: what will they* (the Episcopalians) *do with them?* &c. *would they destroy them?* &c. *I solemnly profess*

profess, that I abhor to think so of the generality of the Episcopal perswasion, &c. Shall they be suspended, and deprived as formerly? shall all private conferences of godly, peaceable Christians, for mutual edification, be held unlawful Conventicles? It hath been thought by wise men to be against the Rules of Government to hold under a rigid yoke a Free People of such a Number, and Quality.——

This is cutting of a Man's Throat with a Whetstone. Truly *Horace* his saying would sound very well from this Gentleman:

——*Fungor vice Cotis, acutum*
Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exors ipsa secundi.

My Office is to *Whet*, not *Cut*.

To tie him up now to his own Philosophy, which is, (according to his fore-alledg'd Position) that *all Rational Enterprises propose some certain End, unto which end, all wise men conform their mediate Actions.* If it be so, (as we are agreed upon it) then by that very reason which directs him to chuse the *means*, are we enabled likewise to guess the *end*.

His *End*, he says, is *Peace*; and in this Treatise he hath chalk'd his way to't. He's a *wise man*, and certainly proceeds in order to *the Mark he levels at*. Let him be judge by his own Rule.

To mind the peevish of old Grievances, and

The Presbyterian Method of making Peace.

in so doing to transport the honest with a just sense of new indignities; Is this the way of Peace?

To break a solemn Law; that Law that saved the Breakers of it; to abuse the Mercy of that Prince that made it; and to traduce the Government of his Father, whom they themselves destroyed; and which is worse, to justifie all this: Is this the way of Peace?

To startle the mad brutish Rabble, with dangerous apprehensions; to lay the justice of their Cause before them, and when they are ripe for mischief; to shew them Men and Arms, ——— Is this the way of Peace?

——— Then let me learn which is the way of *Tumult?*

Shall Protestants destroy Protestants, (says he) *for dissenting in the point of Ceremonies?* No, but the *Law* shall destroy *Subjects*, for attempting to Rule their *Governors*.

Touching their *Conventicles*, since they fall in my way, I think of them, as of the Painter's *Bad God* that made a *Good Devil*: I take them to be none of the best *Churches*, but for ought I know, they may make excellent ———

I beg ye onely to observe now, the *equity* of these good Folks.

Page 38. *Is it for the service of Christ, and the encrease of his Kingdom the Church, that so many able Divines should be debarr'd the use of the Lords Talents, that so many laborious Ministers should sit still in silence; that when Christ teach-*

eth

ch as to pray that the Lord would thrust forth Labourers into his Harvest, those Labourers should be thrust out of his Harvest? Surely this would make a cry in the ears of the Lord of the Harvest.

Do none of the *Woes* in the Gospel belong to this talker of it? The Service of God went merrily on, in the *Thorough Reformation*; did it not? When not a Minister kept his Living, but to the hazard of his Soul; and in several places (where the allowance was small) neither *Sacrament* nor *Sermon*, for divers years together. But in those days, the Covenant kept all in good order. *Observations.*

With what a monstrous confidence does this man press a *Text*, which the whole Nation knows is clear against him! And all in Scripture-phrase forsooth: *Ne sine formâ vanum scelus fiat*, for the honour of the exploit. These people use *Religion*, as your *London* Cooks do their pickled *Barbaries*; they *garnish* with it. It serves for every thing. I know not how it is, but they do't, because they find the women like it.

When the *Episcopal*, and loyal *Clergy*, their *Wives*, *Children*, and *Families*, were swept entirely away by that *SCOTCH PLAGUE* the *COVENANT*; That made no cry sure *in the ears of the Lord of the Harvest*. Let the great Great Judge of all the World determine it.

Page 39. *If the neglect of brotherly Pacification hold on, and the* Hierarchie *resolve upon their own advancement to the highest pitch, one may well conclude, that they make a full reckoning to wear out the Presbyterians, and to swallow up their Interest, conceiving they are able to effect it by degrees; and that greater changes than these have been wrought without much ado.*

Observation. Let but the meaneſt Soul alive now judge of theſe mens Conſciences. (I ſpeak of thoſe that tumult ſince the *Act* of *Pardon*.) As deep a forfeiture as ever was made by mortals, the King hath remitted to them. They have coſt the Nation more then they have left it worth, beſide the *blood*, the *Grief*, and *Deſolation* they have brought upon it. This notwithſtanding, they have at this inſtant the ſelf ſame Intereſt they ever had, as to *Freedome* and *Safety*, and otherwiſe *more*. They keep what they got; beg, and get more; and are not yet content unleſſe they Govern too. But this is but another Alarm, as who ſhould ſay: *Look to your ſelves my Maſters*! loſe not an Inch, for if you do, they'l do your Buſineſs *by degrees*.

By and by, among other concurring advantages, to the great Changes Queen *Elizabeth* wrought in Religion; he reckons this for one.

Page 42. *Popery* (ſayes he) *being in ſubſtance a Religion contrary to what was publickly profeſſed, had*

had no advantage for encrease by publick Preaching, or Books publickly allowed.

Nothing more certain then that the Freedome of the *Press* and *Pulpit*, is sufficient to embroyl the best ordered Government in the World. *Observation.*

All Governments have their *Disorders* and their *Malecontents*: The *one* makes use of the *Other*, and here's the ground of all Rebellions. Some *Real faults* are first found and laid open to the People; which, if in matter of popular Freedome, or Religion; so much the stronger is the Impression, the vulgar being naturally stubborn; and Superstitious. Bring it to this, a very little Industry carries it on at pleasure. They shall believe Impossibilities, Act eagerly, they know not what, nor why; and while they reach at *Liberty*, grasp their own *Fetters*. Their unhappiness is, they can better *Phansy* a Government without any faults, then *brook* one that hath *some*. Add but to this distemper, Licentious Pamphlets, and seditious Sermons, the World shall never keep that people quiet.

Wherefore since on all hands it is agreed, that *Printing*, and *Preaching* in opposition to a *publick establishment*, are of so dangerous consequence, by the force of the Gentlemans own Rule we ought to hear no more of their Discipline from the *Press* or *Pulpit*. *Observe his next coherence.*

Page 42. *There are now in* England *thousands of Ministers dissatisfied in the* Hierarchy *and* Ceremonies, *who are all competently and many of them eminently learned. They are not generally of light spirits, but steddy and well resolved, and tenderly affected touching their spiritual Liberties.*

Observation. Take notice first, how many, and how *resolute* they are. That is, take notice *again*, for we have had it exceeding often. His *Resolute thousands* make me think of the Tribes 1 Chr. 12. repairing to *David*. But they are dissatisfied he sayes: it may be 'tis because they are not *Bishops*: Yet truly if they be so well *resolved*, methinks they should not be dissatisfi'd with that they cannot help. I'll ask but two Questions, and I have done.

1. *Are any of those* Tender-conscienc'd *thousands that are so tenderly affected toward spiritual Liberties, those Presbyterians that denyed the King the freedome of his own Chaplains?*

2. *Had any of these eminently* learned *thousands a hand in the Assemblies Letter to the Reformed Churches of* France, *the* Low-Countries, &c. — (as great a Schism in *Learning* as the other was in *Religion*) *He comes now to the point indeed.*

Page 43. *Commonly* (sayes he) *those people who trye all Doctrines by Scripture, and are swayed more by its Authority than by the Ordinances*

and

and Customes of men, do much heſitate and ſtagger concerning the ſole Juriſdiction of Biſhops, the pomp of the Hierarchy, *and ſacred myſtical Ceremonies of humane Inſtitution. And therefore let the Epiſcopal Party never look to be rid of theſe difficulties, till they remove the matters in Queſtion, whereat a knowing people are always ready to ſtumble.*

Go to then, ſince the Gentleman will have it ſo, grant for diſpatch the thing he preſſes, to wit, —— that they do *Heſitate*, and *Stagger*. Is hard, that when upon a private ſearch, the Queſtion hangs in Ballance, the caſting *in* the Authority of the Church, and the great weight of Chriſtian Charity, ſhould not be yet enough to turn the Scale. *He that doubts, Sins*, will not excuſe that man, who becauſe *he thinks he ſtands*, refuſes to take heed of falling. *Obſervation.*

But let him *doubt*, nay more, let him *reſolve*; all is but for *himſelf* ſtill, not for *me*. When he comes once to muſter up his Thouſands, and talk of parties, his plea of Conſcience is gone: and doubleſſe theſe Violent and publick ſticklers for the Scrupulous, (that is in ſuch and ſuch particulars) are the greateſt enemies they have. It caſts a Scandal upon the very cauſe of Conſcience, when thoſe who evidently want it in themſelves, plead for it in others. Upon this Subject, exceedingly well ſays Mr. *Lloyd* in a late Treatiſe of *Primitive Epiſcopacy*, Pag. 80. *It becomes not good men*

men to censure us for using those Rights and Ceremonies, which we are persuaded not to be prohibited by Gods Law, and both they and we do surely know to be commanded to be used by mans Law duly made, which is Gods Ordinance, to which we must be subject for Conscience sake. And a little after—*If any will attempt to be Authors of Combinations, to extort by shew of multitudes and by tumults, the alteration or abrogation of any part of the established Laws, Civil or Ecclesiastical, they will thereby evidently manifest themselves to be but meer pretenders to a tender Conscience, and power of Godlinesse; for they that labour to extort a part, if they prevail, must have the whole in their power. And can they that attempt so great Robbery, love God, and the Power of Godlinesse? By this cursed fruit, we know these to be most vile Hypocrites.* Now to our Adversary.

The Gentleman desires to clear the Presbyterians of being no *Phanaticks*: and we'll give him the hearing.

page 54. *It is said that the Presbyterians promoted the Kings Return, not out of good will to His Majesty, or a love of Order, and Unity, but out of fear of being destroy'd by the Phanaticks.*] To this I shall say little but that I believe there was more in't than so. Let him argue upon it.

Ibid. *The pretended reason of their insincerity seems to me to add much to their reputation in that behalf. For if the Phanaticks would destroy them*

them, it is manifest that they are none of them. Phanatick would not destroy themselves willingly. The several various Sects will wrangle with each other in verbal contests; but they never knowingly plotted or banded against each other upon the account of their different Opinions, but did all unite in one common Principle of pretended Liberty of Conscience, and in one common cause of Universal Toleration.

A pleasant Reasoning. A man would think *Christianity* as strong a tye as *Phanaticisme*, and yet we see *Christians* destroy one another. But come to the point. What's more familiar then for a couple of Curs to hunt the same Hare, and when they have catch'd her, worry one another for the Quarry? I'll tell this Gentleman a thing now, shall make him take me for a Conjurer. I'll tell him the true reason why those *Presbyterians* help'd His Majesty in, that are not quiet now they have him. Not for feare of the *Phanatiques*: he made that Objection himself for ought I know; but Here 'tis. (Still saving to my self the freedome of Interpreting my own words.) *Observation.*

I speak only of those Presbyterians that since His Majesties happy Return, are yet fomenting of new Troubles.

The Presbyterian Faction have been ever constant to the rule and method of doing their

own

The Presbyterians do their own business in the Kings name.

own Businesse in the *Kings* name; and this went far with the simple, and well meaning people: but let not any man believe this Interest did their work. The ruin of His blessed Majesty, was that unhappy Agreement with the Covenanters in 1639. after so horrid an expence of *Time* and *Mony*, as gave the greatest benefit imaginable to their Interest, and an equal disadvantage to his own. The King by his expence being grown poor and they strong by the Delay, was more and more oppressed, till at the last the Field was clear'd: He and His Party in appearance lost.

What did these great Pretenders then for the good of *King* and *Church*, but share the booty, and exercise a Power themselves ten thousand times more Turkish then ever they called that they had abolished? what hindered then the Settlement of this Nation upon its *legal Basis*, (as they phrase it) if the good people had but had a mind to it? Who kept the King from his Parliament? — or was he ever nam'd but with relation to the Losse of *Right* as well of *Power*.

Well, but at last, these people take their turns too, and then the King's a Gracious Prince again. These Factions are of Kin to *Montagnes* Family, where the Son beats the Father from generation to generation. Now we come near our purpose.

Look back into the *Scotch* defeat in 1648. Not any thing more clear sure, then that the Presbyterian party, would they but frankly have

have closed with the Kings Tryed Friends in that Engagement; without a Miracle, they must have carried it. Those Few they had, did well nigh all that was considerable in the Action.

See afterward, in 50, and 51. how dirtily upon this very accompt, the Presbyterian crew treated his Majesty; and look quite through their *Interregnum*: they have observ'd the same indisposition of uniting with the Kings Party, but still shaking the Head, with an *Alass poor Gentleman*, at the mention of our persecuted Soveraign. Not to insist upon English Particulars; *They* never would joyn with *Us* to help his *Majesty*, *we* never refused with *them*. Now comes the Mysterie of the Reserve. Say they,

If we can order Matters so as to get the King's Person *in the head of us, and keep out his* Party, *Their hands are ty'd by a Principle of Duty; Our Power is enlarged upon an Interest of favour, and we can play our Game at pleasure.* That is; Wee'l not forget to mind him of his RESTORERS, and now and then a Whisper, how DEBAUCHD the Gentry's grown; how unfit this man is for *Trust*, that for *Temper*, and a Third for *Conduct*.

We may then propose the naming of Officers, and wee'r to blame if we forget our selves. By these *Degrees*, and *wayes*, *Time*, and a little *Patience* will wear them out; or if it were nothing else, the very *Poverty* we have reduced them to, would make them soon Contemptible.

Whereas

Whereas should we but offer once a General agreement with that Party, our Design's spoyl'd, for they'll be more than we shall well know how to master. That must not be. Our Interest lyes to take in just so many, as when they have done our Work, we may be able to turn out again. So much for That.

Page 60. This is the very Soul of the rigid Presbyterians. Poor Worms, *Where is our Charity, and Regard* (they crye) *to publick tranquillitie, if we reject the sure and only means of Concord?*]

Observation. He should have rather said, where is our *Providence*, if we admit so sure an Introduction to Confusion? To comply with one Importunity of this nature, is to Authorise, and encourage more; and to please all, is totally Impossible.

Page 61. The *Canons* stick in his Stomach notably, they force too much, and bring in *Poperie*. [*Shall not the Laity be allow'd to search the Scriptures, nor try the Doctrines delivered, but acquiesce in what their Teachers say without the Exercise of their own reasoning, or judgment of Discretion?*]

Observation. Yes, let them *search the Scriptures*, as their *Teachers* may the *Lawes*, yet by their Leave, the *Church* and *Bench* must interpret them. What difference is there betwixt King

James

James his *Phrenzies*, and King *Charles* his; save that they ascribe one and the same Effect to several Causes. Both claiming equal *Certainty*, the *One*, from his *Judgement of Discretion*: the *Other*, from *Divine Impulse*? What work shall we have when every Taylour shall with his *Judgement of Discretion* cut out his own Discipline, and set it up for a Fashion: *When these men and their Bibles are alone together* (as *Hooker* sayes) what *Phrenzies* do they not call directions of the Spirit?

He comes now to the Politicks.

It is a chief point of knowledge in those whose work it is to mould and manage a Nation according to any order of things, to understand what is the temper of the people, what Principles possess and govern them, or considerable Parties of them, and to what passe things are already brought among them. Page 62.

The more a Prince considers this, the lesse will he afford a *Scotized English Presbyterian*. *Observation.*
By Temper he's *Ambitious*; and *Unthankful*; ever *Craving*; and never *Full*. Govern'd by Principles *Insociable*, and *Cruel*. He rates his Party, his Piety, and his Kindnesse, twenty times greater then they are, and rather than confesse that he is out in his Reckoning, he shall face any other man down that *one* on the wrong side of a Cipher is 1000

Lastly, in Considering to what passe things are brought among them, he will bethink himselfe

self likewise how they came to be so.

Page 63. *A State may probably root out such Opinions as it conceives to be heterodox and inconvenient, by using great severity in the beginning, when the Opinions are but newly sowed in mens minds, and the People are of such a nature, as to abhor dangers, and aim to live securely, and when the Nation in generall is devoted to the antient custom of their Fore-fathers. But the same course may not be taken when the Opinions have been deep'y rooted and far spread by long continuance, in a Nation of a free spirit, and zealous, and the generality of those, that in a Law-sense are called* Cives, *do not detest them.*

Observ. Truly in this Case, if Heterodox *Opinions* cannot be rooted out, the *Men* that publiquely maintain them, must: and the rather, if they be *free*, and *zealous*: for there's the more danger in their further Progresse. Especially if such Opinions prescribe from the successe of Treason. For There, even in matters of themselves very Allowable, I would not leave the least marque of an approbation. It gives too great an honour to *Rebellion*. Provided alwayes that I act at Liberty, and free from Pre-ingagements.

Where there is such a Real Cause of Fear, as is here shadow'd to us; That Prince that loves his Empire, or his *Honour*, must struggle with it betimes: *Safety*, or *Pleasure*, such a people perhaps will be content to allow in exchange

exchange for Soveraignty: But for the rest, that Prince is lost that puts himself on the Asking side.

It never fayles, this Rule: *when Subjects earnestly presse for more than they ought, they aym at more yet than they aske.* They are already past their Duty, and short of their Ambition.

In such a Case as This, Rigour is the onely Remedy: great Apteness to forgive is entertaind with greater Proneſſe to offend.

Let it be thought upon; if any Danger, where it lyes: Not in the bare Conceit of Phancy, or Dislike, for, or against the Matter in Dispute, but in the means that give Form, growth, and strength to those unquiet Motions; and that assemble those Loose scatter'd Sparkes into one Flame.

These Instruments are mercenary *Pulpitmen*, and *Scriblers*; 'tis but removing them, and the Danger's over.

Least he should seem to want a Colour for these Freedomes, he tells us, that [*the present Age being more discerning, all sorts affect a greater Liberty of Judgement and Discourse, than hath been used in Former times.*] Page 65.

This we observ'd, but did not till now impute it to *Discretion*. Suppose they should grow more and more *Discerning*, and their Desires of Liberty grow too; would not these People soon grow Wise enough to *Govern*, that are *Observation.*

are already grown too good to Obey? 'Tis dangerous trusting of them; yet he assures us otherwise.

Page 66. *This Kingdom, after the removing of foundations, is by a marvellous turn re-established upon its antient basis. And verily that which hath wrought the change will settle it; that which hath brought such things to pass, will keep them where they are, if we do not overlook and sleight it: And what was it, but the consent of the universality, the Vote of all* England?

Observation. If all that acted toward this late and blessed Change meant to Fix here: this needless, ill-timed, and dividing Controversie, concerning Ceremonies, would have been spared; and those which move the Question with such earnestness, at their *Prayers*, rather than these *Expostulations*. 'Tis an ill Age when Theeves arraign the Law. That sort of men which ruin'd us, proposes now that very Method, by which we were destroyed, to settle us, inviting the distemper'd people by this Overture, to take their *Poysoners* for their *Physicians*.

'Tis very true, that (under Providence) It was the Common *Vote*, and stirring of the *Nation*, restored the *King*, and the *Law*: and shall we now restrain that Universal Comfort to the particular Advantage of that single Party, that first invaded them? How great a blemish were it to the Honor, and wisdom of the

the Nation, after so long, and hard a Tugg, to throw away the sum of the Contest: as if we had wrangled all this while for Shadows! But to explain my self.

They that think matter of *Ceremony* to be the True reason of the Difference on either side, mistake themselves. It is the *Law* it self, which is *assaulted* by the One Party, and *defended* by the Other, in the *Particular* of *Ceremony*: and it is the King himself that is affronted in the Indignities they cast upon Bishops. To leave the matter clear: There is a Faction which would over-throw the Law, and set up themselves above it; and These Contrivers put the People upon Cavilling for Ceremonies. *They* innocently, under a mistake of *Conscience*, advance an Interest of *Usurpation*, taking that to be onely a Dispute about the Lawfulness of the *Practise*, which rationally pinches upon the validity of the *Power*. It ends in this.

Grant once, that a Popular Vote *may overrule a* Stated Law, *(though but to the value of a Hair) the vertue of that reason extends to our* Freedoms, Lives, *and* Fortunes, *which by the same Rule they may take away as well as* Ceremonies.

And (as the case stands) *Kings* as well as *Bishops*.

But [*seeing this great Revolution hath not happened by the prevailing force of one Party, but by the unstrained motion of all* England: Page 67.

what reason is there, that one Party should thrust the other out of its due place of rest; upon the common Foundation?

Observation. No reason in the world. *The Law is our common resting place:* the main *Foundation* upon which we are all to Bottom. The Law is an impartial Judge, let That determine which place belongs to *Bishops*, which to *Presbyters*; what *Ceremonies* are *Lawful*, and which *not*.

This is a *short* and a *sure* way, worth *forty* of his *Coalition*.

Page 73. Having *pressed union* hitherto, *he proceeds now to remove certain impediments; One* whereof *is an erroneous judgment touching the times foregoing the late Wars.*

Observation. In truth 'tis pity the people are no better Instructed. Then let them know from me, those very principles these folks contend for, were brought by *Knox* about 1558. from *Geneva* into *Scotland*, from thence they were transmitted into *England*, since which time, the Abettors of them in both Nations, have never ceased by *Leagues*, *Tumults*, *Rebellions*, and *Usurpations*, to embroile the publick Peace, and affront the Supreme Authority.

They have formally proceeded to the *Deposing of Princes*, the exercise of an absolute Authority over the *Subject*: the *abrogation* of *Laws*, the *Imposition* of *Taxes*; and, in fine,

fine, to all extremities of Rigour, as well in matters of *Civil Liberty*, as of *Conſcience*. He that deſires a *Presbytery*, let him but read *Presbyter*, for *King*, in the firſt Book of *Samuel*, and the eighth Chapter, and he ſhall there find what he is reaſonably to expect. Theſe were the pranks foregoing the late Wars: and ſuch as theſe will be again, if people be not the wiſer.

But our Camerade will be none of the Party ſure: For, *I abhor* (ſays he) *to take upon me the defence of our late diſtracted times: the diſtempers thereof I would not in any wiſe palliate.*] Page 74.

Is the wind in that dore? Now do I feel by his Pulſe, that *Crofton*'s laid by the heels. He hath forgot, that the *War was between the King, and both Houſes of Parliament.*] And that *the Presbyterian Party in* England *never engaged under a leſs Authority than that of both Houſes of Parliament.*] And that *Presbyterians have never diſclaimed, or abandon'd their lawful Prince.*] It may be he means, that he will not juſtifie the Diſtempers of the *other* ſide. But why do we conteſt? ſince he tells us, that ——— Intereſt of *England.* Part 1. Page 13. Part 1. Page 49. Ibid. 53.

It is the part of weak and ſelfiſh minds to contract Religion to certain modes and forms which ſtand not by divine Right, but by the wills of men, and which are of little efficacy, and very diſputable, and if ſuppoſed page 75.

lawful, ought to be governed by the Rule of Charity.

Observation. I would fain know which is more tolerable; for the *Church* to impose upon the *People*, or the *People* upon the *Church*? For the *People* on the one side to *exempt* all, or for the *Church* on the other side to *bind* all.

Order it *self* is of Divine appointment; but the *manner* of Ordering (save where God himself hath preimposed) is left to Humane liking and Discretion. *To think* (says he) *that none is a good Christian, a sound Protestant, a fit Minister, that cannot subscribe to such Modes, and Forms, proceeds from a narrow, and ignoble judgment.* pag. 75.

Observation. He may be a fit Teacher for *Geneva*, that cannot subscribe to the Form of *England*, and a fit Minister for *England*, that cannot conform to the practise of *Geneva*; they may be both *good Christians* too, and *sound Protestants*; yet neither of them fit in transposition. 'Tis one thing to be qualifi'd for the Ministerial *Function*, and another thing to be fit for such or such a *Constitution*. 'Tis true, he *Officiates* as a *Minister*, but *thus*, — or *so* — as a *Subject*, and that's the real ground of their exception. They do not willingly admit the King's Authority in matters of the Church, and that, which effectually is but their own Ambition, they obtrude upon the world, as a high point of Tenderness to the people. There are beyond all doubt, weak Consciences, fit ob-

ject

jects for indulgence: but the leſs pardonable are their Miſ-leaders, whoſe buſineſs 'tis for their own ends to engage the ſimple multitude in painful, and inextricable ſcruples.

Let them Preach down-right Treaſon, ſtir up the Rabble to Tumult, and Sedition: if they chance to be caught and queſtion'd for it: ſee with what ſoftneſs they treat their Fellows, and with what ſupercilious gravity their Superiors.

When ſome degree of forwardneſs breaks forth, it is encountred with that ſeverity which hazards the undoing of the weak part, that ſhould and might be healed.] And again, to the ſame effect, (concerning *Crofton's* Commitment, I imagine) [*But ſuppoſe that ſome of this way were guilty of ſome provoking forwardneſs, ſhould grave Patriots and wiſe Counſellors thereupon deſtroy the weak part, or rather heal it? A prudent Father is not ſo provoked by the ſtubbornneſs of a Child, as to caſt him out, and make him deſperate while there is yet hope concerning him. It is meet indeed for Princes to expreſs their juſt indignation, when Subjects preſuming on their Clemency do not contain themſelves within their duty; and the ſeaſonable expreſſion of ſuch diſdain, wiſely managed, is of great force in Government: nevertheleſs if it get the maſtery, it is exceeding perilous. It was the Counſel of Indignation that proceeded from* Rehoboam's *young Counſellors.*] What this Language deſerves both from the King and his Counſel, let thoſe

Page 78.

Page 81.

that have authority to punish, Judge.

Page 83. *When Governors resent the non-compliances of a Party, their best remedy is to remove the occasions, when it may be done without crossing the Interests of State, or Maxims of Government.*

Observation. That is, if the *People* will not yield to the *Prince*, the *Prince* should do well to yield to the *People*. A most excellent way for a King that hath to do with *Presbyterians*: where he shall be sure never to want subject for his Humility, nor ever to get thanks for his Labour.

Page 84. *Where there are many sufferers upon a Religious account, whether in truth or pretence, there will be a kind of glory in suffering, and sooner or later it may turn to the Rulers detriment.*

Observation. There will not be many *Sufferers*, where there are not many *Offenders*; and there will not be many *Offenders*, where an early severity is used. But however, if any hazzard be, he that *prints* it, *dictates*, *encourages*, and *promotes* it, and deserves to suffer with the foremost. But the Gentleman begins now to talk like a Christian. *I detest* (says he) *and abhor the Tumults, and Insurrections of the People, and the resisting of the Soveraign Power.*] page 98.

This

This is honestly said yet: But hold a little. What is that *Soveraign Power*, which he abhorrs should be resisted by the *Tumults of the People*? Even the *Two Houses in co-ordination with the King*. A little further, [*I am perswaded* (says he) *that the Generality of the Presbyterian denomination would endure extremities, before they would revenge or defend themselves by unlawful means, as rebelling against their Lawful Soveraign.*

Observation. *Interest of England.* Page 49, *Ibid.* 98.

This we shall understand too by confronting it, and find it onely the old Fallacy, a little better colour'd.

Observation.

This part (says he) *of the Supreme Power* (meaning the two Houses) *is indeed capable of doing wrong, yet how it might be guilty of* Rebellion, *is more difficult to conceive.*]

Page 49. *Interest of England.*

Now if the Two Houses cannot *Rebel*, as being part of the Supreme Power; (by his Argument) neither can the Presbyterians, in compliance with that Party: So that by this mis-placing of the Supreme Authority, whatever hath been acted by vertue of any Commission from the Two Houses, may be done over again, and no Rebellion.

By this device, he onely disavows Rebellion so far as This, or That, is not Rebellion according to his Proposition, although the Law determine otherwise. This is no more then

what was ever maintained, even by those that stood themselves upon the highest terms of Disobedience. Did ever any man say, *This is Rebellion, and I'll justifie it?* Nay, I should be glad to hear any of them say, *This* was *Rebellion, and I'm sorry for it.* [*But it is evident, that the Presbyterians love the King, and Kingly Government, and account themselves happy in his Majesty's Clemency, allowing them a just and inoffensive Liberty in certain matters of Conscience.*]

Page 101.

Observation. The Presbyterians may find many things to thank his Majesty for: but I would they could hit upon a handsomer manner of doing it; and not perpetually to be craving *more*, when they should be doing him service for what they have receiv'd *already*. They love the King, they say, but then their Love is Conditional, they must have something for it.

Would they expose themselves for twenty years together, to *Gaols* and *Gibbets*, all sorts of *Hazzards* and *Misfortunes* for their Prince, and at the last sit down and starve contentedly, out of a sense of honorable Loyalty?

That Subject is not right, who hath not brought his mind up to this Frame; however unhappy he may think himself in such encounters as put him to the Trial of his utmost Virtue.

pag. 104. *Wise men inform us, that a Prince by adhering to one Faction, may in time lift it up above*

above his own Imperial Interest, which will be forced to give way to it as the lesser to the greater. And the prime Leaders of the potent Faction will sway more than the Prince himself. They will become arrogant, unthankful, and boundless in their ambitious designs.

This is a good Rule, but ill apply'd; unless returned upon himself. I hope he will not call *That* Party a *Faction*, which submits all its Actions to the clear Letter of the Law; and he will hardly prove *That* to be *none*, which crosses *This*. If so, let Common Reason judge betwixt us. *Observation.*

There is a saying, which by many hath been taken up for a Proverb, No Bishop, no King. *I do not well understand the rise of this saying, and therefore dare not speak in derogation of their Judgments who were the Authors of it. But upon the matter it self, I crave to make this modest Animadversion. And first it is some degrading to the transcendent Interest of Soveraignty, to affix unto it a necessity of any one partial interest for its support: for Independency and Self-subsistence, without leaning upon any Party, is a Prince his strength and glory. Also it makes that Party over-confident, and its opposite too despondent. Such sayings as import a Princes necessary dependence on any particular Party, may in the mouthes of Subjects be too presumptuous, and in the mouth of a Prince too unwary.* pag. 106.

If

Observation. If we are not yet instructed in the Weight and Reason of that saying, —— *NO BISHOP, NO KING*; sure we are past Learning any thing. We found the sad truth of this Judgment, in the event of the late War; but that's no Rule. By *No Bishop no King*, is not intended that Bishops are the props of Royalty, nor do the Episcopalians understand it so: but that both one and the other are Objects of the same Fury, onely the Church goes First: so that without *presumption*, a *Subject* may *affirm* it; and without loss of *Honor*, a *Prince* may *grant* it.

I might draw Arguments from the Agreement of their *Original*, the likeness of their *Constitution*, the Principles by which they are *supported*, and that they lye exposed to the same Enemies, and the same method of Destruction. But this would seem to imply a more Inseverable Interest then I aim at; and raise the Clergy above the proper State and Orb of Subjects. My meaning is more clear and open.

All Popular Factions take the *Church* in their way to the *State*; and I am to seek where ever any Prince quitted *Episcopacy*, and saved *Himself*. That is, his *Royal Dignity*; for the empty name of *King*, is but the *Carkass* of Majesty. It is with the unruly Populacy, as it is with raging Tides, they press where the Bank is weakest, and in an instant over-run all. If they had either Modesty, or Conscience, they would

would not force ſo far: if they have neither, will they ſtop There? what did the late King Grant; or rather, what Deny? till by their mean Abuſe of his unlimited Conceſſions, he loſt his Crown, and Life? Yet what aſſurance Words could give him, he wanted not: Words wrapt up in the moſt tender and Religious Forms imaginable. But what are Words where a Crown lyes at ſtake?

In fine, *Treaſon's a Canker; and where it ſeizes, that Prince muſt early cut off the Infected part, if he would ſave the Sound.*

The true Church lies in the middle between two extremes, Formaliſts, and Fanaticks. They are of circumſpect and regular walking, no way forward in attempting or deſiring alterations in a Civil State. A Prince doth hold them in obedience under a double bond. For they know they muſt needs be ſubject not only for wrath, but for Conſcience ſake. Indeed we will not conceal, that in lawfull wayes they aſſert that Liberty which is ſetled by the known Laws and Fundamental Conſtitutions, the maintaining whereof is the Prince's as much as the Peoples ſafety. Page 116.

If to be no way Forward in promoting Changes in the Civil State, be a marque of the Church: The Presbyterians are out of the Pale. It's truth, they are, it ſeems, Aſſertors of *Lawfull* *Obſervation.*

Lawfull Liberty, in *Lawfull waies*; but how is that I pray'e? Did they not tell us this when their Swords were at our Throats, when it was Death to aſſiſt the King, when they were forc'd to flye to the *Equitable* ſenſe of the Law, and quit the *Literal*, and fetch their Arguments, from Inſpiration, becauſe they had none in Reaſons.

I ſhall here put an End to this Diſcourſe, which is much longer already than I meant it, by reaſon of his Addition. *Crofton's* ill Fortune I find hath made my friend *wary*, but not *humble*; for he preſſes the ſame Things in ſubſtance ſtill, though in ſomewhat a differing manner of Reſpect, and ſeeming Candour. The good Words he gives, belong to thoſe Perſons which he ſhall vouchſafe to Call *ſerious*, and to think worthy of them; and the Government is to be moulded, and diſpoſed of as he pleaſes.

Finally, he pretends to ayme at a Fair, and Chriſtian Accord, and yet proceeds in a direct method of Dividing: by ſharp, and ſcandalous Reflections upon the Kings Party.

To ſay no more, his Reaſonings are *Diſhonourable* to the memory of the *Late* King; *Seditious*, and *Provoking* to the *People*; *Bold*, and *Impoſing* in *themſelves*; *Repugnant* to the eſtabliſhed *Law*, and to the main ſcope of the *General Pardon*.

How out of all theſe ill Ingredients ſhould be compoſed a National, and healing balſome,

balsome, I shall now give the Reader leisure to consider.

Mulc imperatur, ubi regit Vulgus Duces.

FINIS.

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